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H. Bright

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King CHARLES I.

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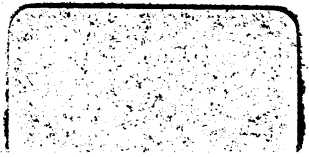
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B. H. Bright

MEMOIRS

OF

EDMUND LUDLOW, Esq;

Lieutenant-General of the Horſe,

Commander in Chief of the Forces in *Ireland*,

One of the Council of State, —— and

A Member of the Parliament which began on *Nov.* 3. 1640.

WITH

A collection of ORIGINAL PAPERS, ſerving to confirm and illuſtrate many important paſſages contained in the MEMOIRS.

To which is now added,

The CASE of King CHARLES I.

With a copious INDEX.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOLUME I.

The THIRD EDITION.

EDINBURGH:

Printed by SANDS, MURRAY, and COCHRAN.

For W. SANDS, A. KINCAID & A. DONALDSON;

J. BROWN, and C. WRIGHT.

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To their EXCELLENCIES,

The LORDS of the Council

FOR THE

Canton of BERN.

YOur Excellencies having been the protectors of the author of these Memoirs during the many years of his exile, are justly intitled to whatever acknowledgment can be made for those noble favours which you extended so seasonably and so constantly to him and his fellow-sufferers.

It is well known to your Lordships, that the Lieutenant-General would have accounted himself happy to lay down

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that life for your ſervice, which you had preſerved by your generoſity. But ſince he lived not to have ſo glorious an occaſion of expreſſing his gratitude, (no prince, how powerful ſoever, being hardy enough to attack that liberty which is ſo well ſecured by the bravery and good diſcipline of your own people), nothing now remains to be a monument of his duty, and your bounty, but theſe papers; and therefore, as a juſt debt, they are moſt humbly preſented to your Excellencies.

The

The PREFACE.

NO history can furnish us with the example of a man whose life and actions have been universally applauded; malice, or a different interest, being always ready to wound the noblest integrity. The virtues of Scipio and Cato, the best and greatest of the Romans, could not preserve them from the assaults of envy and calumny: of which, the groundless accusations of the former to the people, and the volumes of aspersions published against the latter by the usurper Julius, are a sufficient testimony. It is therefore no wonder, that men who endeavour to imitate those great examples, and make the service of their country the principal care of their lives, should meet with the same hard usage. What the author of these papers did and suffered on that account, the ensuing relation will in part witness; wherein it will appear, that he contended not against persons, but things: that he was an enemy to all arbitrary government, though gilded over with the most specious pretences: and that he not only disapproved the usurpation of Cromwel, but would have opposed him with as much vigour as he had done the King, if all occasions of that nature had not been cut off by the extraordinary jealousy and vigilance of the usurper.

Concerning his extraction, if that be any thing, it may be justly said, he was descended of an ancient and worthy family, originally known in Shropshire, and from thence transplanted into the county of Wilts; where his ancestors possessed such an estate as placed them in the first

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rank of Gentlemen; and their perſonal merits uſually concurring with their fortune, gave them juſt pretences to ſtand candidates to repreſent the county in parliament as knights of the ſhire; which honour they ſeldom failed to attain. His father Sir Henry Ludlow being choſen by his country to ſerve in that parliament which began on the 3d of November 1640, was one of thoſe who ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the rights and liberties of the people, againſt the invaſions made upon them by the pretended prerogatives of the crown. The example of his father, together with a particular encouragement from him, joined to a full perſuaſion of the neceſſity of arming in defence of his country, mounted our author, then very young, on horſeback. His firſt eſſay was at the battle of Edge-hill, where he fought as volunteer in the lifeguard of the Earl of Eſſex. His father dying ſome time after the eruption of our troubles, he went down to Wiltſhire, and was unanimouſly choſen by that county to be one of their knights of the ſhire to repreſent them in parliament; where his integrity and firmneſs to the true intereſt of his country ſoon became ſo remarkable, that he was thought worthy to be intruſted with the command of an independent regiment of horſe, to defend the county for which he ſerved from the incurſions of the enemy's army. And how great a progreſs he made afterwards in the ſcience of war, the military honours he received, in a time when rewards were not blindly beſtowed, may ſufficiently manifeſt.

After the death of King Charles I. *he was ſent into Ireland by the parliament in the quality of Lieutenant-General of the Horſe. This employment he diſcharged with diligence and ſucceſs,*

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ceſs, till the death of the Lord Deputy Ireton; and then acted for ſome time as General, though without that title; the growing power of Oliver Cromwel, who knew him to be true and faithful to the commonwealth, always finding out ſome pretext to hinder the conferring that character upon him. The finiſhing part was only wanting to the compleat ſuppreſſion of the Iriſh rebellion, and the laſt ſtroke had been given by this Gentleman, if the uſurpation of Cromwel had not prevented him. Under that power he never acted: and though the uſurper employed all his arts to gain him, he remained immovable, and would not be perſuaded to give the leaſt colour or countenance to his ambition. After the death of Cromwel, ſome endeavours were made to cauſe the public affairs to revert to their former channel: in which attempts our author was not an idle ſpectator. But Oliver had ſo choaked the ſprings, that the torrent took another courſe; and all the efforts that were made to reſtore the commonwealth proving vain and fruitleſs, Charles II. *was permitted to act his part. Thereupon this Gentleman, who had gone through innumerable hazards for the liberties of England, was ſtripped of his eſtate, and, under the odious name of traitor, forced to abandon his native country. That he eſcaped the ſearches made after him in England, and ſafely arrived in Switzerland, was almoſt a miracle. The preſervation of his life, which was in the utmoſt hazard, by reaſon of the prejudices then reigning, obliged him to confine himſelf to the deepeſt privacy, and for a ſhort time kept him unknown, till his exemplary life made him not only to be obſerved, but admired. This ſtranger for more than thirty years was*

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was the care of that country; and it may be justly said, that, by their vigilance rather than his own, the frequent designs that were formed against his life, were defeated, and some of them exemplarily punished on the heads of their authors.

During his exile he wrote the following memoirs; conjecturing, and I think he was not mistaken, that some of the family of Charles the martyr might act such things as would make his country relish the relation, and regret the usage he had found. But it can never be expected that all men should be of the same mind. And therefore, when the whole kingdom of Ireland, Londonderry only excepted, was unhappily fallen into the hands of the Irish Papists, and the Lieutenant-General, I hope I may say it without offence, was sent for, as a fit person to be employed to recover it from them; when the British refugees were glad to hear him named for that service, and he in an ecstasy to serve his country any where, was arrived in England; the reception he found there was such, as ought rather to be forgotten, than transmitted to posterity, with any remarks upon that conjuncture. Thus being denied the honour of dying for his country, he returned to the more hospitable place from whence he came. But England had not one good wish the less from him on the account of her last unkindness. For at the very article of death some of his last words were wishes for the prosperity, peace, and glory of his country; and that religion and liberty might be established there on so sure and solid a foundation, that the designs of ill men might never bring them into danger for the time to come.

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MEMOIRS

OF

EDMUND LUDLOW, Esq;

HAVING seen our cause betrayed, and the most solemn promises that could be made to the asserters of it, openly violated, I departed from my native country. And hoping that my retirement may protect me from the rage and malice of my enemies, I cannot think it a mis-spending of some part of my leisure, to employ it in setting down the most remarkable counsels and actions of the parties engaged in the late civil war which spread itself through the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland: wherein I shall not strictly confine myself to a relation of such things only in which I was personally concerned, but also give the best account I can of such other memorable occurrences of those times as I have learned from persons well informed, and of unsuspected fidelity.

Those who make any inquiry into the history of K. James's reign, will find, that though his inclinations were strongly bent to render himself absolute, yet he chose rather to carry on that design by fraud than violence. But K. Charles,

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having taken a nearer view of despotic government in his journey to France and Spain, tempted with the glittering shew and imaginary pleasures of that empty pageantry, immediately after his ascent to the throne pulled off the mask, and openly discovered his intentions to make the crown absolute and independent.

In the beginning of his reign, he married a daughter of France; who was not wanting on her part to press him, upon all occasions, to pursue the design of enlarging his power; not omitting to solicit him also to mould the church of England to a nearer compliance with the see of Rome: wherein she was but too well seconded by corrupt ministers of state, of whom some were professed Papists; and an ambitious clergy, whose influence upon the King was always greater than could well consist with the peace and happiness of England. 'Tis true, he called some parliaments in the first years of his reign: but the people soon became sensible he did it rather to empty their purses, than to redress their grievances. The *petition of right*, as it was called, passed in one of them; yet, by the manner of passing it, and more by the way of keeping, or rather breaking it in almost every particular, they clearly saw what they were to expect from him. And though, by the votes passed in the house of Commons, (after a message from the King to require their attendance in order to a dissolution, thereby to prevent their inquiry into his father's death), complaining of the grievances of the nation, and asserting the liberties thereof, declaring it treason for any to pay custom or other taxes without the authority of parliament, locking the door of the house of Commons,

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mons, and compelling the Speaker to continue in the chair till it paſſed, he might have obſerved the pulſe of the nation beating high towards liberty; yet, contrary to his promiſe to preſerve the privileges of parliament, he cauſed the ſtudies of their members to be ſearched, their papers to be ſeized, and their perſons to be impriſoned in the Tower; where Sir John Elliot, who was one of them, loſt his life. Divers others ſuffered in their health and eſtates, being proſecuted with all ſeverity at the common law, for diſcharging their duty in parliament. After the diſſolution of which, a proclamation was publiſhed, whereby it was made criminal in the people to ſpeak any more of parliaments.

The King, having aſſumed this extraordinary power, reſolved to make war againſt France; not upon the account of thoſe of the reformed religion, as was pretended; but grounded upon perſonal diſcontents, and to gratify the revenge and luſt of his favourite.

The Rochellers, who once before, upon encouragement from England, had endeavoured to defend their juſt rights againſt the incroachments of the French King, till, being deſerted by the King of England, they were neceſſitated to accept terms from their King very diſadvantageous to their affairs, were again by frequent importunities and fair promiſes prevailed with, though very unwillingly, to aſſiſt the Engliſh with proviſions, and ſuch other things as they wanted, in their expedition againſt the iſle of Rhee. From whence our forces being repulſed, the French King ſent his army againſt the Proteſtants of Rochelle; whoſe proviſions being before exhauſted by the Engliſh, they applied to

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the King of England for succours, according to his promise; who, as if he intended to assist them effectually, caused a certain number of ships to be fitted out, under the conduct of Sir John Pennington. But private differences being soon after composed, Sir John received a letter from the King, signed *Charles Rex*, which was afterwards found by the parliament amongst his papers, requiring him to dispose of those ships as he should be directed by the French King; and if any should refuse to obey those orders, to sink or fire them. The King's command was put in execution accordingly. And, by the help of those ships, the French became masters of the sea; and thereby enabled to raise a work, composed of earth, stones, and piles, with which they entirely shut up the mouth of the harbour, and so prevented them from any relief that way. Being thus straitened on all sides, they were forced to yield to the pleasure of their King: and that strong town of Rochelle, wherein the security of the Protestants of France chiefly consisted, by this horrible treachery was delivered up to the Papists; and those of the reformed religion in all parts of that kingdom, exposed to the rage of their bloody and cruel enemies.

About this time the most profitable preferments in the English church were given to those of the clergy who were most forward to promote the imposition of new ceremonies and superstitions. An oath was injoined by them with an *&c.*; several new holydays introduced, and required to be observed by the people with all possible solemnity; at the same time that they were encouraged to profane the Lord's day, by a book commonly called, *The book of sports*, printed

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and publiſhed by the King's eſpecial command.

But this was not the only work of which the clergy were judged capable; and therefore divers of them entered the liſts as champions of the prerogative, aſſerting that the poſſeſſions and eſtates of the ſubject did of right belong to the King, and that he might diſpoſe of them at his pleaſure; thereby vacating and annulling, as much as in them lay, all the laws of England that ſecure a property to the people. Arbitrary courts were erected, and the power of others enlarged; ſuch were the high commiſſion court, the ſtar-chamber, the court of honour, the court of wards, the court of requeſts, *&c.*; patents and monopolies of almoſt every thing were granted to private men, to the great damage of the public; knighthood, coat and conduct money, and many other illegal methods, were revived, and put in execution, to rob the people, in order to ſupport the profuſion of the court; and, that our liberties might be extirpated at once, and we become tenants at will to the King, that rare invention of ſhip-money was found out by Finch; whoſe ſolicitation and importunities prevailed with the major part of the judges of Weſtminſter-hall, to declare for law, "That, for the ſupply of ſhipping to defend the "nation, the King might impoſe a tax upon "the people; that he was to be judge of the "neceſſity of ſuch ſupply, and of the quantity "to be impoſed for it; and that he might im-"priſon, as well as diſtrain, in caſe of refuſal." Some there were who, out of a hearty affection to the ſervice of their country, and a true Engliſh ſpirit, oppoſed theſe illegal proceedings. Amongſt whom Mr. John Hampden of Buckingham-

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hamshire, Judge Croke, and Judge Hutton, were of the most eminent.

Prerogative being wound up to this height in England, and the affairs of the church tending to a conjunction with the see of Rome; before any farther progress should be made therein here, it was thought expedient, that the pulse of Scotland should be felt, and they persuaded or compelled to the like conformity. To this end, a form of public prayer was sent to Scotland, more nearly approaching the Roman office than that used in England. The reading of this new service-book at Edinburgh was first interrupted by a poor woman. But the people were so generally discontented with the book itself, as well as the manner of imposing it, that she was soon seconded by the generality of them; those who officiated hardly escaping with their lives. This produced divers meetings of many of the Nobility, Clergy, and Gentry; who entered into an agreement or covenant, to root out Episcopacy, heresy, and superstition.

Those of the clergy of England who had been the chief advisers and promoters of this violence, prevailed with the King to cause all such as should persist in their opposition after a certain time, to be proclaimed traitors. But the Scots, not at all affrighted with these menaces, resolved to make good their former undertaking. Which the King perceiving, and that this violent way took not effect, began to incline to more moderate counsels; and, by commission, impowered the Marquis of Hamilton to treat them into a submission, consenting to the suppression of the liturgy, high commission court, and articles of Perth. But the Scots insisting upon

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upon the abolition of Episcopacy, and the King refusing his consent to it, they did it themselves in an assembly held at Glasgow; and, being informed that the King was preparing an army to compel them to obedience, agreed upon the raising of some forces to defend themselves.

The clergy in England were not wanting to promote the new levies against the Scots, contributing largely thereunto: which was but reasonable; it being manifest to all, that they were the principal authors and fomenters of these troubles. The Nobility and Gentry were likewise required to further this expedition: in which though divers of them did appear, yet was it rather out of compliment, than affection to the design; being sensible of the oppressions they themselves lay under, and how dangerous to the people of England a thorough success against the Scots might prove.

The King, perceiving an universal dislike to this war, as well in the people, as in the officers and soldiers of his army, concluded an agreement with the Scots, at Berwick, the 17th of June 1639. But, upon his return to London, under colour that many false copies of the said articles were published and dispersed by the Scots, to the great dishonour of the King, the said agreement was disowned, and ordered to be burnt by the hands of the hangman.

Thereupon, hoping that a parliament would espouse his quarrel, and furnish him with money for the carrying on of his design, he summoned one to meet at Westminster, on the 3d of April 1640; which, sitting but a little time, thereby obtained the name of *the short parliament*. The King by his agents earnestly pressed

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sed them to grant him present supplies for the use of his army. But they, sensible of former usage after they had gratified him in that particular, and of the insupportable burdens and oppressions they lay under, refused to grant any subsidies till their grievances should be redressed. Whereupon the King put a period to their sitting the 5th of May following; the Earl of Strafford, and others of his council, advising him so to do, and to make use of other means for his supply; as appeared to the ensuing parliament, by the minutes of the Secretary of State, taken at that cabal, and produced at the trial of the said Earl. The sum of whose advice was to this effect. "Sir, You have now tried your "people, and are denied by them; therefore "you are clear before God and man, if you "make use of other means for your supply. "You have an army in Ireland, *&c.*" This counsel was prosecuted, and new preparations made for the carrying on of the war against the Scots; all imaginable ways used to raise supplies; privy seals sent throughout the nation for the loan of money; ship-money, coat and conduct money pressed to the height; commodities taken up on credit, and sold for ready money; warrants also were delivered out to press men to serve in the army: brass money was propounded, and some prepared; but that project took no effect. The clergy, being permitted and encouraged by the King to sit in convocation after the dissolution of the parliament, took upon them not only to frame canons and oaths, but also to impose four shillings in the pound upon ecclesiastical benefices throughout the kingdom. The King, to give life to the advance of his army,

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my, marched with them in person; the Earl of Northumberland, as most popular, wearing the name of General; whilst Strafford, with the title of Lieutenant-General, had the principal management of all.

The city of London had refused to pay some of the illegal taxes before mentioned: whereupon divers of their chief officers were imprisoned, and an order issued forth to take away the sword from the Lord Mayor. Whereupon the people rise, and beset the house of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, in conjunction with the Earl of Strafford, was supposed to put the King upon these violent and unwarrantable courses. But he made his escape by water for that time: and one of the most active of the people was seized, and executed; which served only to exasperate the rest.

Upon the near approach of the English and Scots army, a considerable party of each side encountered; and the English, contrary to their wonted custom, retired in disorder, not without shame and some loss. Of such force and consequence is a belief and full persuasion of the justice of an undertaking, though managed by an enemy in other respects inconsiderable.

The King, startled at the unsuccessfulness of his first attempt, upon the petition of a considerable number of the well-affected Nobility, requesting him, that, to avoid the effusion of more blood, he would call an assembly of the Nobility, consented thereunto. This council accordingly met at York; and advised the King to a cessation of arms, and the calling of a parliament to compose differences: which, to the great trouble of the clergy, and other incendia-

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ries, he promiſed to do; aſſuring the Scots of the payment of 20,000 l. a-month to maintain their army, till the pleaſure of the parliament ſhould be known. In order to which, writs were iſſued out for the meeting of a parliament on the 3d of November 1640.

The time prefixed for their aſſembling being come, they met accordingly. And as they were very ſenſible that nothing but an abſolute neceſſity permitted their coming together, ſo they reſolved to improve this happy opportunity, to free the people from their burdens, and to puniſh the authors of the late diſorders. To this end, they declared againſt monopolies, and expelled the authors of them out of the houſe. The opinions of the judges concerning ſhip-money they voted unjuſt and illegal, fining and impriſoning thoſe that had warranted the lawfulneſs thereof. And, that the offenders againſt the public might not eſcape, they ordered the ſea-ports to be diligently guarded, and all paſſengers to be ſtrictly examined.

This being done, they impeached the Lord Keeper Finch, the Earl of Strafford, and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, of high treaſon, in endeavouring to ſubvert the laws, and to erect an arbitrary and tyrannical power. They declared, that they would pay the Engliſh and Scots armies to the end of May 1641, and aſſiſt the Prince Palatine with men and money to recover his country. And now having the charge of two armies to pay, and all men ſuſpecting they might be abruptly diſſolved, as had often happened before, and therefore refuſing to credit them with ſuch ſums as were neceſſary, unleſs an act might paſs to ſecure their ſitting till they

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they ſhould think fit to diſſolve themſelves by act of parliament; the King gave his aſſent to one drawn up and paſſed to that purpoſe. Another act likewiſe paſſed, to aſſert, That, according to the ancient fundamental laws of England, a parliament ought to be held every year; and directing, that in caſe one was not called in three years, the Lord Chancellor, or Keeper of the Great Seal, ſhould iſſue out writs, as is therein expreſſed; and if he fail in his duty, he is declared guilty of high treaſon, and a certain number of Lords impowered to ſummon the ſaid parliament; and if they ſhould neglect ſo to do, the Sheriffs and Conſtables are veſted with the ſame authority: but if it ſhould happen that all the forementioned powers ſhould be wanting in their duty, the people of England are thereby authoriſed to put the ſaid act in execution, by meeting, and electing members to ſerve in parliament, though not ſummoned by any officers appointed to that end.

The parliament then proceeded to correct the abuſes that had been introduced in the preceeding years. Whereupon the ſtar-chamber, the high commiſſion court, the court of honour, with ſome others, were taken away by act of parliament; and the power of the council-table reſtrained. The commiſſioners of the cuſtom-houſe, who had collected cuſtoms contrary to law, were fined; and ſuch as had been impriſoned by any of the above mentioned arbitrary courts, were ſet at liberty.

A proteſtation was alſo agreed upon by the Lords and Commons, which they took, and preſented to others to take; whereby all thoſe that took it, obliged themſelves to defend and maintain the

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the power and privileges of parliament, the rights and liberties of the people; to use their utmost endeavours to bring to condign punishment all those who should by force, or otherwise, do any thing to the contrary; and to stand by and justify all such as should do any thing in prosecution of the said protestation.

The day prefixed for the Earl of Strafford's trial being come, he was brought before the house of Peers; where the charge against him was managed by members of the house of Commons appointed to that end. The chief heads of the accusation were: "That he had governed the kingdom of Ireland in an arbitrary manner: That he had retained the revenues of the crown, without rendering a due account of them: That he had encouraged and promoted the Romish religion: That he had endeavoured to create feuds and quarrels between England and Scotland: That he had laboured to render the parliament suspected and odious to the King: That he was the author of that advice, *That since the parliament had denied to grant the King such supplies as he demanded, he was at liberty to raise them by such means as he thought fit; and that he had an Irish army that would assist him to that end.*" It being the custom that a Lord High Steward should be made to preside at the trial of a Peer, that honour was conferred upon the Earl of Arundel. The King, the Queen, the house of Commons, the deputies of Scotland and Ireland, with many other persons of quality of both sexes, were there present. I remember the Earl of Strafford, in his defence, objected against the evidence of the

Earl

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Earl of Cork, denying him to be a competent witneſs, becauſe his enemy. To which George Lord Digby, who was appointed one of the managers of the charge againſt him, replied, That if that objection ſhould be of any weight with the court, the Earl of Strafford had found out a certain way to ſecure himſelf from any farther proſecution. Yet this man, who then ſpoke with ſo much vigour, ſoon after altered his language, and made a ſpeech to the houſe in his favour, which he cauſed to be printed; and alſo ſurreptitiouſly withdrew a paper from the committee, containing the principal evidence againſt the ſaid Earl. The parliament, reſenting this prevarication, ordered his ſpeech to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman.

The houſe of Commons having paſſed a bill for the condemnation of the Earl, it was carried to the Lords for their concurrence; which they gave. The King, not ſatisfied therewith, conſulted with the privy council, ſome judges, and four biſhops. And all of them, except one, adviſe the throwing of Jonas overboard for the appeaſing of the ſtorm. Upon which the Earl of Arundel, the Lord Privy Seal, and two more, were commiſſionated by the King to ſign the warrant for his execution: which they did upon the 12th of May following; and, the 22d of the ſame month, the Earl of Strafford was beheaded accordingly.

At this time a treacherous deſign was ſet on foot, not without the participation of the King, as appeared under his own hand, to bring up the Engliſh army, and by force to diſſolve the parliament; the plunder of London being promiſed to the officers and ſoldiers as a reward for

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that ſervice. This was confeſſed by the Lord Goring, Mr. Piercy, and others. The Scots army was alſo tried; and the four northern counties offered to be given to them, in caſe they will undertake the ſame deſign. And though neither of theſe attempts did ſucceed; yet the King pleaſed himſelf with hopes, that a ſeaſonable time for diſſolving the parliament would come; and then, all power reverting into his own hands, he would deal with their new-enacted laws as he had done before with the petition of right, and with their members as he had done with thoſe of the former parliaments. And that he might not long languiſh in this expectation, he ſent to the houſe, deſiring that at once they would make their full demands, and prepare bills accordingly for his aſſent, aſſuring them of his readineſs to comply with their deſires. But they, perceiving the deſign, returned for anſwer, That they could not ſuddenly reſolve on ſo weighty a work; but would do it with all poſſible ſpeed. In the mean time, to improve the preſent opportunity, they prevail with the King to paſs an act for the excluſion of the Biſhops out of the houſe of Lords: for though he was unwilling to grant the parliament any thing, yet the ſtate of his affairs was ſuch, that he durſt deny them no reaſonable thing. And now having paid to the Scots and Engliſh armies what was due to them, they diſmiſſed them to their reſpective homes.

The King having laid his deſigns in Ireland, as will afterwards appear, was, not without great difficulty, prevailed with by the parliament, to conſent to the diſbanding of thoſe eight thouſand Iriſh Papiſts that had been raiſed there by the Earl

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Earl of Strafford. Soon after which he resolved upon a journey to Scotland: and though the parliament endeavoured to dissuade him from it, or at least to defer it to a fitter opportunity, he refused to hearken to them; under pretence, that the affairs of that kingdom necessarily required his presence. But in truth his great business was, to leave no means unattempted to take off that nation from their adherence to the parliament of England. Before his departure, he signed a commission to certain persons, impowering them to pass the bills that should be tendered in his absence.

Whilst he was about this work in Scotland, the news of the Irish rebellion was brought to him, That the Papists throughout that kingdom were in arms; that their design to surprise and seize the castle of Dublin had not succeeded, being discovered by one O Connelly, a servant of Sir John Clotworthy's; and that the Lord Macquire and Macmahon, who were appointed to that end, were taken, and sent into England; where they were soon after executed for the same. The news of this rebellion (as I have heard from persons of undoubted credit) was not displeasing to the King, though it was attended with the massacre of many thousands of the Protestants there.

Having made what progress he could in Scotland, confirming by act of parliament, not only what he had formerly granted them, but also what they had done in their assembly at Glasgow, and in effect whatsoever they desired of him, he returned to London; where, being received with acclamations, and treated at the expence of the city, he became elevated to that

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degree, that, in his first speech to the Commons, he sharply reproved them; for that, instead of thanking him for what he had done, they continued to multiply their demands and dissatisfactions. Whereupon the parliament were confirmed in their suspicions, that he designed to break what he had already granted, so soon as he had opportunity and power in his hands; to plead that he was under a force, as some of his predecessors had done, and so reverse what had been enacted for the good of the people; revenge himself on those who had been instruments in compelling him thereto, and fortify himself against the like for the future. These apprehensions made them earnestly insist upon settling the militia of the nation in such hands as both houses of parliament should recommend to him; particularly representing the great dissatisfaction of the city of London, that Sir William Balfour, for refusing to permit the Earl of Strafford to escape, was dismissed from his charge of Lieutenant of the Tower, and the government of it put into the hands of one Lunsford, a soldier of fortune, of a profligate conversation, and fit for any wicked design. With much difficulty this Lunsford was removed, and Sir John Conyers put into his place. But the parliament and city not satisfied with this choice, and having discovered, that Sir John Suckling, under pretence of raising a regiment for Portugal, was bringing together a number of men to seize the Tower for the King, it was at last intrusted to the custody of the Lord Mayor of London.

About this time great numbers of English Protestants flying from the bloody hands of the Irish rebels,

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rebels, arrived in England, filling all places with sad complaints of their cruelties to the Protestants of that kingdom. Whereupon the parliament earnestly pressed the King to proclaim them rebels; but could not obtain it to be done till after many weeks; and then but forty of those proclamations were printed, and not above half of them published: which was the more observed and resented, by reason of the different treatment that the Scots had met with; who no sooner appeared in a much better cause, but they were forthwith declared rebels in every parish-church within the kingdom of England. The rebels in Ireland pretended a commission from the King for what they did: which so alarmed the people of England, that the King thought himself necessitated to do something therein: and therefore, to carry on his design, he acquainted the parliament, that, when an army was raised, he would go in person to reduce them. But they, apprehending this pretended resolution to be only in order to put himself at the head of an army, that he might reduce the parliament to his will, refused to consent; and procured an act to pass, for the leaving of that war to the management of the two houses; the King obliging himself not to give terms to any of the rebels, or to make peace with them without the parliament's consent. In this act provision was made for the satisfying of such as should advance money for the reduction of Ireland, out of the rebels lands, in several provinces, according to the rates therein mentioned. Upon which considerable sums of money were soon brought in. The parliament, neglecting no opportunity to carry on this necessary work, procured some forces to be

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ſent from Scotland into the north of Ireland, and put into their hands the town and caſtle of Carrickfergus. They alſo diſpatched ſeveral regiments of Engliſh thither, who were bleſſed with wonderful ſucceſs againſt the rebels; particularly about Dublin, where the Earl of Ormond commanded. Thoſe of the Engliſh pale, by fair pretences, procured arms to be delivered to them; yet baſely cut off a party of five or ſix hundred men ſent to relieve Sir Richard Tichburn, then beſieged at Droghedah; who, finding no hopes of relief, made his retreat to Dublin by ſea. The Lord Forbes, a Scotſman, was ſent with a party into Munſter, where he greatly annoyed the enemy; and, being furniſhed with ſome ſhips, ſailed up the Shannon, and ſecured ſeveral places upon that river, particularly Bonratte, the reſidence of the Earl of Thomond, where he found about threeſcore horſe fit for ſervice. Major Adams was made governor of that houſe. But the enemy frequently reſorting to a place called *Six-Miles Bridge*, about two or three miles from thence, the Engliſh preſſed the Earl to aſſiſt them to fall upon the Iriſh; who, unwilling to oppoſe the Engliſh intereſt, and no leſs to make the rebels his enemies, endeavoured to excuſe himſelf; yet, upon ſecond thoughts, reſolved to comply, if ſome care might be taken to ſpare his kindred. Whereupon ſome of the Engliſh officers propoſing to him, that his relations ſhould diſtinguiſh themſelves by ſome mark, and he concluding it to be in order to ſecure them to the Engliſh intereſt, choſe rather to withdraw himſelf into England, and to leave his houſe to the ſoldiers; where (though he pretended he had no money

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to lend them to supply their wants) they found 2000 l. buried in the walls, which they made use of for the payment of their forces.

The King finding, that nothing less would satisfy the parliament than a thorough correction of what was amiss, and full security of their rights from any violation for the future, considered how to put a stop to their proceedings; and, to that end, encouraged a great number of loose debauched fellows about the town to repair to Whitehall, where a constant table was provided for their entertainment. Many Gentlemen of the inns of court were tampered with to assist him in his design, and things brought to that pass, that one of them said publickly in my hearing, *What! shall we suffer these fellows at Westminster to domineer thus? Let us go into the country, and bring up our tenants to pull them out.* Which words not being able to bear, I questioned him for them; and he, either out of fear of the public justice, or of my resentment, came to me the next morning, and asked pardon for the same; which, by reason of his youth, and want of experience, I passed by. By these actions of the King, the suspicions of the parliament were justly increased; and therefore they desired leave to provide a guard to secure themselves from violence; which the King refused to grant, unless it might be of his own appointment, alledging that their fears were groundless. But they thought otherwise; being convinced, that neither what had been already done was sufficiently secured, unless the militia might be placed in such hands as they could trust; nor themselves safe, unless attended by a guard of their own nomination.

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The King's violent ways not succeeding, he fell upon other measures, in appearance more moderate, yet continued his resolution to subdue the parliament. And, to colour his proceedings with a form of law, he sent Sir Edward Herbert his Attorney-General, and a member of the house of Commons, to accuse of high treason, in the name of his Majesty, Mr. William Stroud, Mr. John Pym, Mr. John Hampden, Sir Arthur Haslerig, and Mr. Denzil Hollis, members of that house, and the Lord Kimbolton of the house of Lords; acquainting them, that he intended to proceed against them according to law, upon the following articles.

1. That they intended to change the government of the state, and to dispossess the King of his sovereign and lawful power, and to attribute to subjects an arbitrary and tyrannical power.

2. That, by false reports and calumnies sown against his Majesty, they had endeavoured to alienate from him the affections of his people.

3. That they had done their utmost to debauch the troops of his Majesty, and to engage them in their perfidious designs.

4. That they had traiterously sought to overthrow the rights and true form of parliaments.

5. That they had used force and terror, to constrain the parliament to engage in their pernicious designs, and to that end had stirred up tumults against the King and parliament.

6. That they had, by a great treason, resolved to raise arms, and had actually raised arms against the King.

7. That they had endeavoured to procure a foreign power to invade England.

Upon this the house made answer to the Attorney-General,

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torney-General, That they were the proper judges of their own members; that, upon his producing the articles that he had to accuſe their members with, and the conſideration of them, if they found cauſe, they would leave them to be proceeded againſt according to law; but commanded him at his peril not to proceed any farther againſt them, or any other member, without their conſent. After which they publiſhed a declaration, forbidding the ſeizing of any of their members without their order; authoriſing them to ſtand upon their guard; and requiring all Juſtices of the Peace, Conſtables, and other officers and people, to be aſſiſting to them; and ſent the Attorney-General to priſon, for his proceedings in this matter.

The King, finding his inſtruments thus diſcouraged, and being reſolved to remove all obſtructions in his way, went in perſon to the houſe of Commons, attended not only with his ordinary guard of penſioners, but alſo with thoſe deſperadoes that for ſome time he had entertained at Whitehall, to the number of three or four hundred, armed with partiſans, ſword, and piſtol. At the door of the houſe, he left his guard, commanded by the Lord Roxberry; entering, accompanied only by the Prince Palatine; where taking poſſeſſion of the Speaker's chair, and not ſeeing thoſe that he looked for, he ſaid, *The birds are flown:* for, upon notice given by a Lady of the court of the King's intention, they were retired into the city. The King then demanded of the Speaker where ſuch and ſuch were, naming the five members. To which he anſwered in theſe words. *I have neither eyes to ſee, ears to hear, nor tongue to ſpeak, in this place, ſave what this houſe*

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house gives me. The King replied, *I think you are in the right:* and then addressing himself to the house, said, That he was sorry he had been necessitated to come thither; that no King of England had been more careful to preserve the privileges of parliament than he desired to be; but that those five members being dangerous persons, he had been obliged to pursue them, not by force, but by the ordinary forms of justice; that he hoped the parliament would send them to him, to justify themselves, if they could; if not, he knew how to find them. Which said, he retired. The parliament, sensible of this violation of their privileges, and fearing they might be further intrenched upon, ordered a committee of the house to sit in the city of London, whither their five members were gone before for protection. The King followed them thither with a slender, or rather no guard, (so far was he from fearing either parliament or city); designing to engage the citizens to deliver up the five members to him, and to stand by him in this horrid enterprize: but they would not be persuaded to comply with his desires in that matter. This violent attempt proving unsuccessful, the parliament, to assert their just rights, voted it to be a breach of their privileges: and that the like might be prevented for the future, after the committee had sat a few days in the city, they returned to Westminster, accompanied with guards from the city both by land and water. Which the King being informed of, and finding that the design which he had laid had highly provoked the parliament and people, he retired to Hampton-court; whither those that he had formerly entertained at Whitehall soon repaired; and,

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and, at Kingſton upon Thames, appeared in a military poſture, with the Lord Digby and Colonel Lunsford at the head of them. The two houſes having notice thereof, deſired the King to diſperſe the ſaid troops, and to return to the parliament. The Lord Digby was alſo required to attend his duty in the houſe. But he being conſcious of his own guilt, and knowing that the King's affairs were not yet in a poſture to bid open defiance to the parliament, choſe rather to betake himſelf to flight; as the Queen did ſoon after, upon notice that the two houſes were about to accuſe her of high treaſon; both of them deſigning, not only to withdraw themſelves from the proſecution of the parliament, but alſo to make what preparations they could for the raiſing of an army againſt them. In order to which, the Queen carried with her the jewels of the crown, and pawned them in Holland for arms and money. The parliament having diſcovered, that the Lord Digby had, by a letter, adviſed the King to retire to ſome place of ſtrength, and there to declare againſt them, they cauſed him to be proclaimed a traitor. Notwithſtanding which, the King, inſtead of returning to London at the earneſt deſire of both houſes, in proſecution of the Lord Digby's counſel, went farther from them. During his abſence many papers paſſed between him and the parliament. The chief aim of thoſe of the latter was, to perſuade the King to return to London, and to ſettle the militia in ſuch hands as the parliament ſhould adviſe, that ſo all jealouſies between him and his people might be removed. Thoſe from the King were to let them know, that he could not part with the militia, eſteeming it to be

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be the beſt jewel of his crown; nor return to London with ſafety to his perſon. The declarations on both ſides proving ineffectual, and the King's deſigns both at home and abroad being grown ripe, he expreſſed his diſſatisfactions more openly, and withdrew to York; where ſeveral Lords, and others affected to his intereſt, reſorted to him, with plate, money, men, horſes, and arms. Amongſt whom were many Papiſts; who, though, to cover the King's deſigns from the people, they were forbidden to come into the court, were yet privately encouraged, and daily liſted and armed. And as the diſtance of York from the parliament was one reaſon why the King went thither, ſo its nearneſs to Hull was another. This town he endeavoured to poſſeſs himſelf of, being a place of ſtrength; where great quantities of arms and ammunition had been laid up, upon diſbanding the army which was lately on foot in thoſe parts, and very convenient for the landing of men from Holland. But the parliament, ſuſpecting the deſign, had ſent Sir John Hotham thither to keep and defend it for their uſe. Notwithſtanding which the King perſiſted in his reſolution; and endeavoured, by ſending divers perſons of quality into the town, to ſurpriſe it: but that way not taking effect, he appeared in perſon before it, demanding entrance of Sir John Hotham: which he abſolutely refuſed to permit; alledging, that he was intruſted with the place by the parliament for the ſervice of his Majeſty and the nation, and that he could not ſurrender it without their order. The King, finding that he could not prevail either by promiſes or threatenings, cauſed Sir John Hotham to be proclaimed a traitor, and returned

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returned to York; from whence he complained to the parliament of the affront he had received at Hull: who, to manifeſt their approbation of Sir John Hotham's conduct, declared, that he had done his duty in denying the King admittance into the town; aſſerting, that the command of the militia was intruſted with the King to be employed for the good of the nation; of which the two houſes of parliament ſitting are the proper judges.

The parliament began now to provide for the ſecurity of all places; and ſent a committee of four of their members, to invite the King to return to Weſtminſter, and to endeavour to promote their intereſt in the northern parts. And being informed, that there was laid up in the town of Leiceſter a conſiderable quantity of arms and ammunition provided for the county; and that Mr. Haſtings, then Sheriff, under pretence of bringing with him a guard to attend the judges at the aſſizes, reſolved to ſecure the ſaid magazine for the King's uſe; they made choice of officers for three companies of foot, impowering them to raiſe the ſaid companies for the defence of the ſaid magazine. The Captains nominated to this employment were, one Major Grey, Dr. Baſtwick, and one of my brothers; who having been for ſome time in the ſervice of the ſtates of Holland, was newly returned to England. Theſe three, having received their commiſſions from the parliament, went to Leiceſter, in order to raiſe their companies. Which they had not fully effected, when the King, with all his cavalry, conſiſting of about 2000 horſe, arrived at Leiceſter. Againſt whom three companies being no way ſufficient to defend the town, they reſolved only

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ly to secure that place where the magazine lay; but that not being large enough to receive more than one company, the three Captains cast lots whose part it should be to defend it; which falling upon Major Grey, the other two dispersed their men, and set forwards for London; but had not rode many miles, when they were seized by a party of horse, which the King commanded the Sheriff to send after them; who brought them back to Leicester, from whence they were removed to York, where they were kept in the common goal, and very cruelly treated. These were the first prisoners taken on either side. The magazine, by capitulation, was dispersed into several parts of the county, as properly belonging to them.

The parliament, that they might leave no means unattempted to persuade the King to return to them, sent down propositions, directing their commissioners at York to deliver them to him. And because much of the intentions of the parliament appear in the said proposals, and for that they were in effect the principal foundation of the ensuing war, I conceive it will not be amiss to recite them in this place, as they were agreed on by both houses the 2d of June 1642, with the title of *their humble petition and advice in nineteen propositions sent to the King.*

" THE most humble and most faithful subjects of your Majesty, the Lords and " Commons assembled in parliament, having " nothing in their thoughts and desires more " precious, and of higher esteem, after the ho- " nour and immediate service of God, than the " just

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" juſt and faithful diſcharge of their duty to-
" wards your Majeſty and this kingdom; and
" being moſt ſenſible of the deſtruction and diſ-
" orders, and of the imminent dangers and mi-
" ſeries, which threaten your Majeſty and ſub-
" jects, the which have proceeded from the
" ſubtle informations, malicious practices, and
" wicked counſels of perſons ill affected to the
" true religion of God, to the peace and ho-
" nour of your Majeſty, and to the good of the
" commonwealth; after a ſerious conſideration
" of the cauſes of theſe miſchiefs, in all humi-
" lity and ſincerity they preſent to your Majeſty
" this petition and advice, full of duty; to the
" end that, by your Royal prudence, for the
" eſtabliſhment of your honour and ſafety, and
" by a tender ſenſe of the good and ſafety of
" your ſubjects, and your eſtates, you may
" pleaſe to conſent and agree unto theſe humble
" deſires and propoſitions, as the moſt neceſſa-
" ry and moſt effectual means, by the bleſſing
" of the Lord, to remove the jealouſies and diſ-
" ferences that are unhappily begot between
" you and your people, and to procure to you
" and them a conſtant current of honour, peace,
" and happineſs.

" *Propoſition* I. That the Lords, and all o-
" thers of your Majeſty's privy council, and
" ſuch other chief officers of ſtate, as well with-
" in the kingdom as on the other ſide of the
" ſea, be put out of all offices and employments,
" except ſuch as the two houſes of parliament
" ſhall approve; and that thoſe who ſhall be
" put into their places, ſhall be approved by par-
" liament; and that thoſe of the council ſhall
" take an oath for the due execution of their

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" charge in such form as the parliament shall " agree.

" II. That the great affairs of the kingdom " shall not be concluded nor passed by the ad- " vice of private persons, nor by any counsel- " lors unknown, or that shall not have taken " oath; but that such matters as concern the " public, and are proper for the high court of " parliament, that is your Majesty's great and " supreme council, shall be debated, resolved, " and passed in parliament, and there only; " and those who shall presume to do any thing " to the contrary, shall be subject to the cen- " sure and judgment of the parliament; and " other matters of state that are proper for the " privy council of your Majesty, shall be deba- " ted and concluded by the Nobles, and others " who shall be chosen for that end, from time " to time, by the two houses of parliament: " and that every public act that concerns the " affairs of the kingdom, and shall be agreed " by the council, shall be esteemed of no force, " and as not proceeding from the Royal autho- " rity, if at least the greatest part of your coun- " cil have not consented thereunto, and signed " the same; and that your council shall be " brought to a certain number that shall not ex- " ceed twenty five, nor be under fifteen: and " if it happen that any counsellor's place be- " comes void during the intervals of parlia- " ment, it shall be supplied by the plurality of " voices of those of your council; which shall " be either confirmed or voided at the first ses- " sions of parliament.

" III. That the Lord High Steward of Eng- " land, the Great Constable, the Chancellor,

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" the Keepers of the Seals, the Great Treaſurer, " the Keeper of the Privy Seal, the Earl Mar- " ſhal, the Admiral, the Governor of the " Cinque-Ports, the Lieutenant of Ireland, " the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Maſter " of the Court of Wards, the Secretaries of " State, the two Chief Juſtices, and the Chief " Baron, ſhall be choſen with the approbation " of the two houſes of parliament; and, in the " intervals of parliament, by the major part of " the privy council, with the condition above " mentioned in the choice of the Counſellors of " State.

" IV. That the Governor of the children of " the King ſhall be choſen with the approbation " of parliament; and, in the intervals of par- " liament, in the manner before mentioned; " and of the ſervants that are already about " them, the parliament ſhall change ſuch as " they think fit.

" V. That the children of the King ſhall not " marry without the advice of the parliament; " and thoſe who ſhall be employed therein " without their knowledge, ſhall be puniſhed " by the parliament.

" VI. That the laws againſt Popiſh recuſants " ſhall be put in effectual execution; and that " thoſe of them who are priſoners, ſhall not be " ſet at liberty, without giving good ſecurity.

" VII. That Papiſts ſhall have no vote in " councils; and that their children ſhall be " brought up in the Proteſtant religion.

" VIII. That the parliament ſhall reform the " liturgy and the government of the church, " as they ſhall think fit, with the advice of di- " vines: that your Majeſty ſhall aſſiſt to put a

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" ſtop to innovations, to expel ſuſpicious and " ſcandalous miniſters, and for the counte- " nancing of a godly and preaching miniſtry " throughout the nation.

" IX. That it will pleaſe your Majeſty, to con- " tent yourſelf with the order that the parlia- " ment hath eſtabliſhed in the militia, until an " act be agreed on for that purpoſe; and that " your Majeſty will recal the declarations and " proclamations againſt the orders given there- " in by the parliament.

" X. That every member of parliament that " hath been put out of his employment or of- " fice, ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed, or ſatisfaction gi- " ven him.

" XI. That the privy counſellors and judges " ſhall take ſuch oath as ſhall be agreed on by " parliament, for the doing of juſtice, and ob- " ſerving the ſtatutes that ſhall be agreed on by " this parliament; and that report be made eve- " ry ſeſſion of parliament of the evil adminiſtra- " tion of juſtice.

" XII. That all officers ſhall enjoy their pla- " ces ſo long, and no longer than they behave " themſelves well therein.

" XIII. That all perſons ſhall be ſubject to " the juſtice of the parliament, even although " they remove themſelves beyond the ſeas.

" XIV. That the amneſty accorded by your " Majeſty, ſhall have ſuch exceptions therein as " the parliament ſhall think fit.

" XV. That the fortreſſes of the kingdom " ſhall have Governors of the choice of your " Majeſty, yet of the approbation of the par- " liament; and, in the intervals of parliament, " as is aforeſaid.

" XVI. That

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" XVI. That the extraordinary guard that " your Majesty hath at present about you, may " be discharged; and that for the time to come " you will raise no such extraordinary guards, " but according to law, in case of actual rebel- " lion or invasion.

" XVII. That it will please your Majesty to " confirm your leagues with the United Provin- " ces, and other princes of the Protestant reli- " gion, that you may be the more capable to " defend it against Popish attempts; which will " bring much reputation to your Majesty, and " encourage your subjects to endeavour, in a " parliamentary way, to re-establish your sister " and her children, and other princes, oppres- " sed for the same cause.

" XVIII. That it will please your Majesty to " clear, by an act of parliament, the Lord Kim- " bolton, and the five members of the house of " Commons; so that future parliaments may " be secured against the consequence of such ill " examples.

" XIX. That it will please your Majesty of " your grace, to pass an act, that the Peers crea- " ted hereafter shall have no place nor voice in " parliament, at least unless they are admitted " thereunto by the parliament.

" These humble requests being granted unto " us by your Majesty, we shall endeavour, as " we ought, to regulate the revenue of your Ma- " jesty, and to increase it more and more, in " such sort, that it shall support the dignity " Royal with honour and abundance, beyond " whatever the subjects of this kingdom have al- " lowed to their Kings your Majesty's predeces- " sors. We will put also the town of Hull in-

" to

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" to such hands as your Majesty shall please, " with the approbation of the parliament; and " will give a good account of the munitions of " war, and of the magazine. And, to con- " clude, we shall chearfully do our endeavours " to give unto your Majesty testimony of our " affection, duty, and faithfulness, to preserve " and maintain your Royal honour, the great- " ness and safety of your Majesty, and of your " posterity."

These propositions were delivered to the King by the commissioners of the parliament, but without success; he being resolved to steer another course, presuming he might obtain as good terms as these, if reduced to the last extremity; and that if his arms succeeded according to his hopes, his will might pass for a law, pursuant to the opinion of those who thought no way so likely to render his authority absolute, as the making of a war upon his people. And now the fire began to break out in the west; Sir John Stawell and others drawing a party together in Somersetshire for the King, where Capt. Preston, and others, opposed them; and about Martials Elm, on Polden-hill, some of those who declared for the parliament, were killed. Whereupon the parliament ordered some horse to be raised, which they sent down under the command of the Earl of Bedford, to protect their friends in those parts. By which means the enemy being forced to quit the field, betook themselves to the castle of Sherburn in Dorsetshire; which, after a short siege, was surrendered to the parliament. Portsmouth was also secured for the parliament by the young Lord Goring,

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ring, then Governor thereof; but he afterwards declaring for the King, it was beſieged, and reduced by their forces, and the government of it intruſted to Sir William Lewis.

The King having ſet up his ſtandard at Nottingham the 24th of Auguſt 1642, the parliament thought themſelves obliged to make ſome preparations to defend themſelves; having diſcovered that he had ſent abroad to procure what aſſiſtance he could againſt his people; particularly applying himſelf to the King of Denmark, acquainting him, that the two houſes, to make their work ſure againſt him, were endeavouring to prove Q. Anne a whore, and thereby illegitimate all her iſſue; earneſtly preſſing him, in vindication of his injured ſiſter, as well as in conſideration of his own relation to him, to ſend him ſuccours. This letter was intercepted, and brought to the parliament; who, by a declaration, proteſted, that no ſuch thing had ever entered into their thoughts. The King alſo endeavoured, under pretence of law, to take away the lives of Dr. Baſtwick, and Capt. Robert Ludlow, for acting in obedience to the commands of the parliament; and had proceeded to their execution, had not the parliament, by a meſſage ſent to Judge Heath, and delivered to him on the bench, threatened a retaliation, by executing two for one, in caſe they went on; which put a ſtop to that deſign.

The parliament, having paſſed the following votes,

1. That the King, ſeduced by evil counſel, intends to levy war againſt the parliament;
2. That when the King doth levy war againſt the

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the parliament, he breaks his truſt, and doth that which tends to the diſſolution of the parliament;

3. That whoſoever ſhall aſſiſt him in ſuch a war, are traitors, and ſhall be proceeded againſt accordingly,

prepared for the raiſing of an army, and publiſhed ſeveral declarations, inviting the good people of England to aſſiſt them with their prayers, perſons, and purſes, to carry on this war, which they were neceſſitated to enter into for the defence of the religion, laws, liberties, and parliament of England. The proteſtation taken by both houſes, and by them propoſed to the people, to ſtand by each other in their juſt and neceſſary undertaking, was readily and chearfully taken by them in London, and elſewhere; and divers hundreds on horſeback, from the counties of Buckingham, Hertford, and Eſſex, came up with their ſeveral petitions, acknowledging the care and faithfulneſs of the parliament in the diſcharge of their truſt; and promiſing to ſtand by them in the carrying on of what they had declared for.

Declarations were alſo ſet forth by the two houſes, encouraging the people to provide horſes and arms, and to bring in plate and money for their neceſſary defence, engaging the credit of the public for the reimburſement of what ſhould be ſo advanced. Which contributions ariſing to the value of a great ſum, they declared their intentions of raiſing a certain number of horſe and foot, with a proportionable train of artillery, and voted the Earl of Eſſex to be their General; whom the King (to take him off from

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from the public interest) had lately made Chamberlain of his household. Upon the same account he had also preferred the Lord Say to be Master of the Court of Wards, and Mr. Oliver St. John's to be his Solicitor-General. But this could not corrupt the Earl of Essex, nor hinder him from discharging vigorously that trust which the parliament had reposed in him. Divers of the Lords and Commons engaged their lives with him, and under him: of the Lords, the Earl of Bedford, who was General of the Horse, the Lord Peterborough, the Lord Willoughby of Parham, the Lord Denbigh, the Lord St. John, the Lord Rochford; and of the Commons, Mr. Hampden and Mr. Hollis, who raised regiments; Sir Philip Stapylton, who commanded the Earl of Essex's guard, and Mr. Oliver Cromwel, who commanded a troop of horse, and divers others. The Earl of Northumberland, who was High Admiral, staid with the parliament; the Earl of Warwick, whom they made Vice-Admiral, kept the greatest part of the fleet in obedience to them.

Things being brought to this extremity, the nation was driven to a necessity of arming in defence of the laws, openly and frequently violated by the King; who had made it the chief business of his reign to invade the rights and privileges of the people, raising taxes by various arts without their consent in parliament; encouraging and preferring a formal and superstitious clergy, discouraging the sober and virtuous amongst them; imposing upon all the inventions of men, in the room of the institutions of God: and knowing that parliaments were the most likely means to rectify what was amiss, to give

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a check to his ambition, and to punish the principal instruments of that illegal power which he had assumed, had endeavoured either to prevent their meeting, or to render them fruitless to the people, and only serviceable to his corrupt ends, by granting him money to carry on his pernicious designs. A parliament being now called, and an act passed authorising them to sit till they should think fit to dissolve themselves; and it being manifest to them, and to all those who had any concern for the happiness of the nation, that the King would do nothing effectually to redress the present, or to secure the people from future mischiefs; chusing rather to contend with them by arms, than, for their satisfaction, to intrust the militia in faithful hands; resolving to impose that by the force of his arms which he could not do by the strength of his arguments: I thought it my duty, upon consideration of my age and vigorous constitution, as an Englishman, and an invitation to that purpose from my father, to enter into the service of my country, in the army commanded by the Earl of Essex under the authority of the parliament. I thought the justice of that cause I had engaged in to be so evident, that I could not imagine it to be attended with much difficulty. For though I supposed, that many of the clergy, who had been the principal authors of our miseries, together with some of the courtiers, and such as absolutely depended upon the King for their subsistence, as also some foreigners, would adhere to him; yet I could not think, that many of the people, who had been long oppressed with heavy burdens, and now with great difficulty had obtained a parliament, composed of such

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such persons as were willing to run all hazards to procure a lasting settlement for the nation, would be either such enemies to themselves, or so ungrateful to those they had trusted, as not to stand by them to the utmost of their power; at least, though some might not have so much resolution and courage as to venture all with them, yet that they would not be so treacherous and unworthy, to strengthen the hands of the enemy, against those who had the laws of God, nature, and reason, as well as those of the land, on their side. Soon after my engagement in this cause, I met with Mr. Richard Fienes, son to the Lord Say, and Mr. Charles Fleetwood, son to Sir Miles Fleetwood, then a member of the house of Commons; with whom consulting, it was resolved by us to assemble as many young Gentlemen of the inns of court, of which we then were, and others, as should be found disposed to this service, in order to be instructed together in the use of arms, to render ourselves fit and capable of acting, in case there should be occasion to make use of us. To this end we procured a person experienced in military affairs to instruct us in the use of arms; and for some time we frequently met to exercise at the Artillery-ground in London. And being informed, that the parliament had resolved to raise a life-guard for the Earl of Essex, to consist of a hundred Gentlemen, under the command of Sir Philip Stapylton, a member of parliament, most of our company entered themselves therein, and made up the greatest part of the said guard: amongst whom were, Mr. Richard Fienes, Mr. Charles Fleetwood, afterwards Lieutenant-General, Maj.-Gen. Harrison, Col. Nathanael Rich,

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Col. Thomlinſon, Col. Twiſleton, Col. Boſwell, Maj. Whitby, and myſelf, with divers others. It was not long before the army under the command of the Earl of Eſſex was raiſed, and ready to march: ſo chearfully did the people, hoping that the time of their deliverance was come, offer their perſons, and all that was neceſſary for the carrying on of that work. The appearance for the King was not very conſiderable whilſt he continued at York; but when he removed to Shrewſbury, great numbers out of Wales and the adjacent parts reſorted to him. The Earl of Eſſex having notice that the King directed his march that way, advanced with his army towards Worceſter; and upon his approach to that town received advice, that a detachment commanded by Prince Rupert had poſſeſſed themſelves of it for the King; and that a party of ours, impatient of delay, had engaged the enemy before our General could come up, with great diſadvantage, as I afterwards obſerved upon view of the place. Ours conſiſted of about 1000 horſe and dragoons; the enemy being more in number, and drawn up in a body, within muſket-ſhot of a bridge between Parſhot and Worceſter: over which our men reſolved to march, and attack them; but before half their number was got over, not being able to advance above eight or ten abreaſt, by reaſon of a narrow lane through which they were to paſs, till they came within piſtol-ſhot of the enemy, they were engaged, and forced to retreat in diſorder, though they did as much as could well be expected from them upon ſo diſadvantageous a ground. Some were killed upon the place; amongſt whom was Maj. Gunter, a very gallant

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gallant man, who, as I have heard, had endeavoured to diſſuade them from that attempt: others were drowned, and divers taken priſoners; of the laſt was Col. Sands, who commanded the party, and was carried to Worceſter; where, being mortally wounded, he ſoon died, with all poſſible expreſſions of his hearty affection to the public cauſe. The body of our routed party returned in great diſorder to Parſhot; at which place our lifeguard was appointed to quarter that night; where, as we were marching into the town, we diſcovered horſemen riding very hard towards us, with drawn ſwords, and many of them without hats; from whom we underſtood the particulars of our loſs, not without improvement, by reaſon of the fear with which they were poſſeſſed, telling us, that the enemy was hard by in purſuit of them: whereas it afterwards appeared, they came not within four miles of that place. Our lifeguard, being for the moſt part ſtrangers to things of this nature, were much alarmed with this report: yet ſome of us, unwilling to give credit to it till we were better informed, offered ourſelves to go out upon a further diſcovery of the matter. But our Captain Sir Philip Stapylton not being then with us, his Lieutenant, one Bainham, an old ſoldier, (a generation of men much cried up at that time), drawing us into a field, where he pretended we might more advantageouſly charge if there ſhould be occaſion, commanded us to wheel about: but our Gentlemen, not yet well underſtanding the difference between *wheeling about*, and *ſhifting for themſelves*, their backs being now towards the enemy, whom they thought to be cloſe in the rear, retired to the

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army in a very dishonourable manner; and the next morning rallied at the head quarters, where we received but cold welcome from the General, as we well deserved. The night following the enemy left Worcester, and retreated to Shrewsbury, where the King was. Upon which the Earl of Essex advanced to Worcester; where he continued with the army for some time, expecting an answer to a message sent by him to the King from the parliament, inviting him to return to London. This time the King improved to complete and arm his men: which when he had effected, he began his march; the Earl of Essex attending him to observe his motions. And after a day or two, on Sunday morning, the 23d of October 1642, our scouts brought advice, that the enemy appeared; and about nine o'clock some of their troops were discovered upon Edge-hill in Warwickshire. Upon this our forces, who had been ordered that morning to their quarters to refresh themselves, having had but little rest for eight and forty hours, were immediately countermanded. The enemy drew down the hill, and we into the field near Keinton. The best of our field-pieces were planted upon our right wing, guarded by two regiments of foot, and some horse. Our General having commanded to fire upon the enemy, it was done twice upon that part of the army wherein, as it was reported, the King was. The great shot was exchanged on both sides for the space of an hour or thereabouts. By this time the foot began to engage; and a party of the enemy being sent to line some hedges on our right wing, thereby to beat us from our ground, were repulsed by our dragoons, without any loss on our side.

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ſide. The enemy's body of foot, wherein the King's ſtandard was, came on within muſket-ſhot of us: upon which we, obſerving no horſe to encounter withal, charged them with ſome loſs from their pikes, though very little from their ſhot: but not being able to break them, we retreated to our former ſtation; whither we were no ſooner come, but we perceived that thoſe who were appointed to guard the artillery, were marched off. And Sir Philip Stapylton, our Captain, wiſhing for a regiment of foot to ſecure the cannon, we promiſed to ſtand by him in defence of them; cauſing one of our ſervants to load and level one of them; which he had ſcarce done, when a body of horſe appeared, advancing towards us from that ſide where the enemy was. We fired at them with caſe-ſhot; but did no other miſchief ſave only wounding one man through the hand, our gun being overloaded, and planted on high ground: which fell out very happily; this body of horſe being of our own army, and commanded by Sir William Balfour; who with great reſolution had charged into the enemy's quarters, where he had nailed ſeveral pieces of their cannon, and was then retreating to his own party; of which the man who was ſhot in the hand, was giving us notice by holding it up; but we did not diſcern it. The Earl of Eſſex ordered two regiments of foot to attack that body which we had charged before, where the King's ſtandard was; which they did; but could not break them, till Sir William Balfour at the head of a party of horſe charging them in the rear, and we marching down to take them in flank, they brake, and ran away towards the hill. Many of them were

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killed upon the place; amongſt whom was Sir Edward Varney, the King's ſtandard-bearer; who, as I have heard from a perſon of honour, engaged on that ſide, not out of any good opinion of the cauſe, but from the ſenſe of a duty which he thought lay upon him in reſpect of his relation to the King. Mr. Herbert of Glamorganſhire, Lieutenant-Colonel to Sir Edward Stradling's regiment, was alſo killed, with many others that fell in the purſuit. Many colours were taken; and I ſaw Lt-Col. Middleton, then a reformade in our army, diſplaying the King's ſtandard, which he had taken. But a party of horſe coming upon us, we were obliged to retire with our ſtandard; and having brought it to the Earl of Eſſex, he delivered it to the cuſtody of one Mr. Chambers his Secretary; from whom it was taken by one Capt. Smith, who, with two more, diſguiſing themſelves with orange-coloured ſcarfs, (the Earl of Eſſex's colour), and pretending it unfit that a penman ſhould have the honour to carry the ſtandard, took it from him, and rode with it to the King; for which action he was knighted. Retreating towards our army, I fell in with a body of the King's foot, as I ſoon perceived: but, having paſſed by them undiſcovered, I met with Sir William Balfour's troop; ſome of whom who knew me not, would have fired upon me, ſuppoſing me to be an enemy, had they not been prevented, and aſſured of the contrary, by Mr. Francis Ruſſel; who, with ten men well mounted and armed, which he maintained, rode in the lifeguard, and in the heat of the purſuit had loſt ſight of them, as I myſelf had alſo done.

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I now perceived no other engagement on either side; only a few great guns continued to fire upon us from the enemy. But, towards the close of the day, we discovered a body of horse marching from our rear on the left of us under the hedges; which the lifeguard (whom I had then found) having discovered to be the enemy, and resolving to charge them, sent to some of our troops that stood within musket-shot of us, to second them; which though they refused to do, and we had no way to come at them but through a gap in the hedge, we advanced towards them, and, falling upon their rear, killed divers of them, and brought off some arms. In which attempt being dismounted, I could not without great difficulty recover on horseback again, being loaded with cuiraſſiers arms, as the reſt of the guard also were. This was the right wing of the King's horse, commanded by Prince Rupert; who, taking advantage of the disorder that our own horse had put our foot into, who had opened their ranks to secure them in their retreat, pressed upon them with such fury, that he put them to flight. And if the time which he spent in pursuing them too far, and in plundering the waggons, had been employed in taking such advantages as offered themselves in the place where the fight was, it might have proved more serviceable to the carrying on of the enemy's designs. The night after the battle our army quartered upon the same ground that the enemy fought on the day before. No man nor horse got any meat that night; and I had touched none since the Saturday before; neither could I find my servant, who had my cloak: so that, having nothing to keep me warm but a suit of iron,

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iron, I was obliged to walk about all night, which proved very cold by reason of a sharp frost.

Towards morning our army having received a reinforcement of Col. Hampden's, and several other regiments, to the number of about 4000 men, who had not been able to join us sooner, was drawn up; and, about day-light, we saw the enemy upon the top of the hill; so that we had time to bury our dead, and theirs too, if we thought fit. That day was spent in sending trumpeters to inquire whether such as were missing on both sides, were killed, or prisoners. Those of ours taken by the enemy were, the Lord St. John's, who was mortally wounded, and declared at his death a full satisfaction and chearfulness to lay down his life in so good a cause; Col. Walton, a member of parliament; and Capt. Austin, an eminent merchant in London; of whom the last died through the hard usage he received in the goal at Oxford, to which he was committed. It was observed, that the greatest slaughter on our side was of such as ran away, and on the enemy's side of those that stood; of whom I saw about threescore lie within the compass of threescore yards, upon the ground whereon that brigade fought in which the King's standard was. We took prisoners the Earl of Lindsey, General of the King's army, who died of his wounds; Sir Edward Stradling, and Col. Lunsford, who were sent to Warwick castle. That night the country brought in some provisions: but, when I got meat, I could scarce eat it, my jaws for want of use having almost lost their natural faculty.

Our army was now refreshed, and masters of the

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the field: and, having received such a considerable addition of strength, as I mentioned before, we hoped that we should have pursued the enemy, who were marching off as fast as they could, leaving only some troops to face us upon the top of the hill. But, instead of that, for what reason I know not, we marched to Warwick; of which the enemy having notice, sent out a party of horse under Prince Rupert; who, on Tuesday night, fell into the town of Keinton, where our sick and wounded soldiers lay; and, after they had cruelly murdered many of them, returned to their army. The King, as if master of the field, marched to Banbury, and summoned it: and though about 1000 of our men were in the town, yet pretending it not to be sufficiently provided for a siege, they surrendered it to him. From thence the King went to Oxford; and our army, after some refreshment at Warwick, returned to London, not like men that had obtained a victory, but as if they had been beaten. The parliament ordered them to be recruited; and, about the same time, sent to the King, who was advanced with part of his army to Maidenhead, or thereabouts, to assure him of their earnest desire to prevent the effusion of more blood, and to procure a right understanding between his Majesty and them. The King, in his answer, which was brought by Sir Peter Killigrew, professed to desire nothing more; and that he would leave no means unattempted for the effecting thereof. Upon which answer the parliament thought themselves secure, at least against any sudden attempt. But the very next day the King, taking the advantage of a very thick mist, marched his army within half a mile of Brent-

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ford before he was discovered, designing to surprise our train of artillery, (which was then at Hammersmith), the parliament, and city; which he had certainly done, if two regiments of foot, and a small party of horse, that lay at Brentford, had not with unspeakable courage opposed his passage, and stopt the march of his army most part of the afternoon. During which time the army that lay quartered in and about London, drew together; which some of them, and particularly the lifeguard, had opportunity the sooner to do, being at that very time drawn into Chelsea-fields to muster, where they heard the vollies of shot that passed between the enemy and our little party. The dispute continued for some hours, till our men were incompassed quite round with horse and foot; and then being overpowered with numbers on every side, many brave and gallant men having lost their lives upon the place, the rest chusing rather to commit themselves to the mercy of the water, than to those who were engaged in so treacherous a design, leaped into the river; where many officers and private soldiers were drowned, and some taken prisoners. However, the enemy's design was by this means defeated, and they discouraged from any farther attempt that night. The parliament also were alarmed in such a manner with the danger and treachery of this enterprize, that they used all possible diligence to bring their forces together; so that, by eight of the clock the next morning, we had a body of 20,000 horse and foot drawn up upon Turnham-green, a mile on this side Brentford. Those of ours also that lay at Kingston, were marching to us by the way of London. The enemy

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nemy drew out a party of theirs towards the hill at Acton; which we attacked, and forced to retire in disorder to their main body. And here again, in the opinion of many judicious persons, we lost, as at Edge-hill before, a favourable opportunity of engaging the enemy with great advantage; our numbers exceeding theirs, and their reputation being utterly lost in the last attempt. But the Earl of Holland, and others, pretending to encourage our army by their presence, made use of their time to dissuade the Earl of Essex from fighting till the rest of our forces arrived; magnifying the power of the enemy to him, and thereby giving them an opportunity to draw off their forces and artillery towards Kingston; which they did as fast as they could, leaving only a body of horse to face us between the two Brentfords, the rest having secured themselves by a timely retreat. Upon this party some of our great guns, guarded by a regiment of foot, were, towards the evening, ordered to be fired. The like guard was drawn up in the highways, to secure our foot from any attempt of horse that might be made upon them: which some great men, who pretended a resolution to fight in that troop, blamed; charging the advisers thereof with rashness, in hazarding them in such a pound, where they must inevitably be cut off, if the enemy should advance upon them. But I fear this great care was only counterfeit; and that those persons well knew the enemy to be in a flying, and not in a charging condition, as it quickly appeared: for our cannon no sooner began to play upon them, but they retired to the main body of their army, the rear of which had by that time recovered

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vered Hounslow-heath. The enemy took up their head quarters at Kingston; where, by the advantage of the bridge over the Thames, they hoped to be able, though inferior in number, to defend themselves against a more numerous army, if they should be attacked, and to put in execution any design they might have upon the city or places adjacent. To prevent which, our General caused a bridge of boats to be laid over the river, between Putney and Battersea; which was no sooner finished, but the enemy retired to Oxford by the way of Reading; which place they fortified, and placed a garrison therein, a party of ours having quitted it upon their approach. Garrisons were also placed by them in the towns of Newcastle upon Tyne, Chester, Worcester, and several others; as they had done before in York and Shrewsbury. Some of ours likewise had possessed themselves of Gloucester, Bristol, Exeter, Southampton, Dover, and divers other places. The enemy being retired, our army advanced to Windsor, and made it our head quarters for the most part of that winter. And so desirous was the parliament to prevent any further effusion of blood, that, notwithstanding the treacherous design of the late expedition, they again sent propositions of peace to the King at Oxford, being the same in effect with those delivered to him before at York; but they found no better reception than the others had done. I do not remember any thing remarkable performed by either party this winter, save only an attempt of the enemy upon one of our quarters at Henly, where two regiments of foot, one of which was Maj.-Gen. Skipton's, then were; who, being tired with a long march, and

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and dispersed to their respective quarters, were fallen upon by a great body of the enemy that had advanced to the town's end undiscovered: but a small party of our men getting together, one of our gunners hastened to the artillery, which was planted upon the avenue, fired once or twice upon them, and made so great a slaughter, especially of those officers who were at the head of their party, that they retreated in great disorder, without any farther attempt.

Our General, having notice that the enemy had a design upon Bristol, sent a party, commanded by Col. Nathanael Fienes, to reinforce that garrison: by which means it was prevented, and some of their correspondents in the town thereupon executed.

About this time Sir Edward Hungerford, having obtained the command of the forces in the county of Wilts for the parliament, invited me to raise a troop of horse in his regiment. In order to which I attended him at the Devizes, and from thence went with him to Salisbury; where he seized some quantity of horse and arms from persons disaffected, and with them mounted and armed part of his men. And I, having done what was convenient at that time for the raising of my troop, returned to the head quarters at Windsor; where I gave them an account of the good condition of Col. Fienes and Sir Edward Hungerford; at which they were not a little surprised, having been made to believe that they and their troops were routed, and cut in pieces by the enemy. Sir Ralph Hopton, Sir Bevil Greenville, and others, were very active in raising forces for the King in Cornwall, and the remote parts of Devonshire; and had possessed

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themſelves of Pendennis, Dartmouth, and Barnſtaple; as Col. Aſhburnham, and others, had done of Weymouth in Dorſetſhire. And the parliament had ordered garriſons to be put into Plymouth, Lyme, and Pool. In the ſpring our army was maſter of the field; the King making it his buſineſs to be only upon the defenſive, till the Queen ſhould arrive in England with an army to his aſſiſtance; hoping to exhauſt the treaſure of the city of London by delays, and thereby to cauſe them to abate their zeal for the public; omitting no opportunity, by his emiſſaries, to create and foment differences amongſt them; endeavouring, by all means, to procure an inſurrection for him, to compel the parliament to ſubmit to ſuch terms as he pleaſed to impoſe. The Earl of Eſſex marched with the army to beſiege Reading, a frontier-town of the King's, which he had ſtrongly fortified and garriſoned. The General himſelf ſat down on the north-weſt ſide, and the Lord Grey of Wark on the ſouth-eaſt ſide of the town. The great ſhot did ſome damage to the houſes; from one of which a tile falling upon the head of Sir Arthur Aſhton, a Papiſt, and Governor thereof, diſabled him from executing that charge during the reſt of the ſiege; and Col. Fielding was made Governor in his room. The King, thinking this place to be of great importance to him, brought together all the forces he could; and marching on Cauſam ſide, in order to relieve it, was oppoſed by a ſmall party of ours; who, taking the advantage of ſome ditches and pales to ſhelter themſelves, repulſed his men, and forced him to retreat to Oxford. Upon this the town was ſurrendered upon articles to the Earl of Eſſex;

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Col. Fielding the Governor retiring to Oxford; where he was tried, and condemned to die, but not executed.

At my coming into Wiltshire with three more of the lifeguard, two whereof were to be officers in my troop, and the third in another troop of the same regiment, I found Sir Edward Hungerford with the forces of Wilts, and Col. Stroud with part of those of Somersetshire, besieging Wardour castle; before which they had been about a week, battering it with two small pieces, whereby they had done little other hurt, save only to a chimney-piece, by a shot entering at a window: but there being a vault on each side of the castle for the conveying away of filth, two or three barrels of powder were put into one of them, and, being fired, blew up some part of it; which, with the grasing of a bullet upon the face of one of the servants, and the threatening of the besiegers to spring the other mine, and then to storm it, if it was not surrendered before an hour-glass, which they had turned up, was run out, so terrified the Ladies therein, whereof there was a great number; that they agreed to surrender it. The government of this castle was intrusted to my care by Sir Edward Hungerford; who left me with a company of foot, commanded by Capt. Bean, and my own troop, to defend it. The Earl of Marlborough, with some horse, possessed himself of a house in our neighbourhood called *Fount-hill*, with a design to block us up; but Sir Edward sent a party of horse, who fell upon him there, and obliged him to quit it. I levelled the works that had been raised during the siege, sunk a well, broke down the vaults about the castle, and furnished

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niſhed it with proviſions, expecting to be beſieged, as I was ſoon after. For within a fortnight after I was poſſeſſed of it, the Lord Arundel, to whom it belonged, and whoſe father died ſoon after he had received news that it was taken, ſuppoſing to find me unprovided, came with a party of horſe, and ſummoned me to deliver the place for his Majeſty's uſe. Some who were with me, adviſed me ſo to do; yet I returned the enemy anſwer, That I was intruſted to keep the caſtle for the ſervice of the parliament, and could not ſurrender it without their command. The enemy, not being at that time ready to make any attempt upon us, retreated to their main body; of which though the Marquis of Hertford carried the name of General, that thereby the country might be encouraged to come in; yet Prince Maurice, as he had then the principal influence over them, ſo he was ſoon after placed in the head of them, as more likely to promote that arbitrary and boundleſs prerogative which the King endeavoured to ſet up over the people.

Having notice that ſome of the King's forces were at Saliſbury, I went out with ſix of my troop to procure intelligence, and to do what ſervice I could upon the enemy's ſtragglers. When I came to Sutton, I was informed that ſix of them were gone up the town juſt before. Whereupon we made after them; and by their horſes, which we ſaw tied in a yard, ſuppoſed them to be in the houſe to which it belonged. Upon which I went in; and was no ſooner within the door, but two of them ſhut it upon me: but my party ruſhing in, they ran out at another, and eſcaped; a third mounted one of my

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mens horses, and rid away; the other three who were in a room of the house, upon promise of quarter for life, surrendered themselves; with whom, and six horses, we returned to the castle.

Our army, after they had possessed themselves of Reading, did nothing remarkable that summer: only there happened some skirmishes; in one of which that most eminent patriot Col. Hampden lost his life by a shot in the shoulder. Sir William Waller commanded a party in the west, with which he did considerable service; though it was so small, that he marched for the most part in the night, to conceal his weakness. He reduced Higham-house, a place of strength, garrisoned by the enemy; and protected the Gentlemen of the country whilst they were raising forces for the parliament. And being joined by Sir Arthur Haslerig's regiment of horse, and the forces of Wilts, Somerset, and Dorset, with as many as could be spared from Bristol, he was become so considerable, as to put a stop to the march of the King's western army; which coming to the town where my father's house was, wholly ruined it, and destroyed his park. But, upon their removal from thence, conceiving I might take some stragglers, or some way or other annoy the enemy, I went thither the night after with about forty horse; where, though I could hear of no men, yet I found much provision; which a Gentlewoman had obliged the people of the town to bring together, and which she was preparing to send to the King's army with horses and carts ready to carry it; amongst which there was half a dozen pasties of my father's venison ready baked, which, with as much of the other pro-

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visions as we could, we carried away with us. The two armies before mentioned engaged about Lansdown; where the success was doubtful a good while, but at last ours obtained the victory. The Cornish men, commanded by Sir Bevil Greenville, stood their ground till they came to push of pike; but were then routed, and Sir Bevil killed. The enemy retreated to the Devizes, and ours pursued them. The news of this action being brought to us, I marched out with my horse towards Warminster; and, in the way, searching the houses of some persons disaffected to the public, we found two of our most active enemies, whom we carried away prisoners. But the great hopes we had conceived of enjoying some quiet in the west by the means of this victory, were soon blasted. For a body of horse sent from Oxford, not being attended by any from our army, (though, as I have heard, commanded so to do), engaged our horse on Roundway-hill; where the over-forwardness of some of our party to charge the enemy upon disadvantageous ground, was the principal cause of their defeat. The horse being routed, our foot also quitted their ground, and shifted for themselves; many of whom were taken, and many killed; the rest retreated to Bristol, where they made the best preparation they could to defend themselves, expecting suddenly to be besieged; as it fell out. Sir William Waller, with what horse he had left, marched to London; where no means were omitted to recruit them. Exeter was surrendered to the enemy upon terms, and Bristol besieged; which being stormed on one side, and ours not doing their duty, part of the enemy being entered, the Governor desired to

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capitulate, and delivered up the town upon articles; which were not well kept, in retaliation, as they pretended, for the like breach by ours at the taking of Reading. The Governor of Bristol was hereupon tried and condemned by a court-martial; how justly, I know not; but the parliament ordered the execution of the sentence to be suspended. About this time a Gentleman of the country, related to the Lord Cottington, desired a conference with me; wherein he endeavoured to persuade me to surrender the castle of Wardour, promising me any terms I would desire; and assuring me, that several of the western Gentlemen, finding our affairs desperate, had made their peace with the King; and that the Kentish men who were risen for him, would be sufficient to accomplish his work, though he had no other army. Also Col. Robert Philips, my friend and kinsman, coming before the castle some time after with a party of horse, and desiring to speak with me, was earnest with me to the same effect. My answers to both were, That I had resolved to run all hazards in the discharge of that trust which I had undertaken.

The two houses of parliament, notwithstanding the many difficulties they met with at home, having sent over forces to subdue the rebels in Ireland, thought it also their duty to send recruits thither; and, at the same time, presented the Earl of Ormond with a jewel, as a testimony of their acceptance of his service at the battle of Rosse; where there was above forty of his own name and kindred killed upon the place, and the enemy totally routed, though for a long time they had much the better of the day.

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The Earl of Leiceſter, having been voted Lieutenant of Ireland by the parliament, and approved by the King, wanted nothing but his commiſſion to begin his journey for that kingdom; which, after ſeveral delays, he received from the King: but being at Cheſter, in order to take ſhipping, the carriages and draught-horſes which lay there for that ſervice, as alſo the cloaths and other proviſions deſigned by the parliament for the ſoldiers in Ireland, were ſeized by the King's order, and made uſe of for his ſervice here; whilſt his agents there endeavoured to perſuade the Engliſh ſoldiers in that country, that they were neglected by the parliament. Upon which falſe ſuggeſtion he prevailed with them to ſerve him in England againſt the parliament; and, contrary to his engagement to both houſes not to treat with the rebels without their concurrence, made a ceſſation with them, and brought over many of them to ſerve in his army againſt the parliament: who, being incompaſſed with difficulties on all hands, and underſtanding that the Queen was landing with a conſiderable ſtrength at Bridlington bay in the county of York, ſent commiſſioners to treat with their friends in Scotland to march into England to their aſſiſtance.

In the mean time, the King's army beſieged the city of Glouceſter, the King being there in perſon to countenance the ſiege. The beſieged made a vigorous defence for about a month; during which the parliament took care to recruit their army, in order to relieve them. Their rendezvous was appointed on Hounſlow-heath; whither ſome members of parliament (of which my father was one) were ſent, to inſpect their condition,

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condition, that their wants, being known, might be the better supplied; who found them a very shattered and broken body: but the city, being then very affectionate to the public, soon recruited them; and drew forth so many of their trained bands, and auxiliary regiments, as made them up a gallant army. In their march towards Glouceſter, some of ours fell upon a party of the enemy at Cirenceſter, of whom they took many priſoners, and seized a great quantity of proviſions, which they found prepared for the enemy; who, upon our approach, raiſed the siege. The Earl of Eſſex, having relieved the town, was marching back again, when he perceived the enemy endeavouring to get between him and London; and, to that end, falling upon his rear with a ſtrong party of horſe, they ſo diſordered his men, and retarded the march of his army, that he found himſelf obliged to engage them at Newbury. The diſpute was very hot on both ſides, and the enemy had the better at the firſt: but our men reſolving to carry their point, and the city-regiments behaving themſelves with great bravery, gave them before night ſo little cauſe to boaſt, that the next morning they were willing to permit the Earl of Eſſex to march to London without interruption. Few priſoners were taken on either ſide. The enemy had ſeveral perſons of quality killed; the principal of whom were, the Earl of Carnarvan, the Earl of Sunderland, the Lord Falkland, and a French Marquis. We loſt a Colonel of one of the city-regiments, together with ſome inferior officers.

Some of the Lords and Commons, contrary to their duty, withdrew themſelves from the parliament

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parliament at Weſtminſter, and went to the King at Oxford, where they met together; but never did any thing conſiderable for the King's ſervice; and ſhewed themſelves ſo little willing to aſſume the name of a parliament, that the King, in a letter to the Queen, (a copy whereof was afterwards found amongſt his papers), called them his *mongrel parliament*.

In the mean time, the Earl of Mancheſter received a commiſſion from the parliament to raiſe forces in the aſſociated counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, Eſſex, Cambridge, Huntington, &c.; which was very neceſſary; for the King was maſter of all places of ſtrength from Berwick to Boſton, except Hull, and two ſmall caſtles in Lincolnſhire; and Ferdinando Lord Fairfax, not able to keep the field againſt the Earl of Newcaſtle, was retired with his horſe and foot to Hull; the enemy's ſtrength in the north no way inferior to what it was in the weſt, and none conſiderable enough to oppoſe their march into the ſouth.

The Earl of Newcaſtle, upon advice that the Lord Willoughby of Parham had poſſeſſed himſelf of the town of Gainſborough for the parliament, ſent his brother Col. Cavendiſh, Lieutenant-General of his army, with a great party of horſe and dragoons, to ſummon it, himſelf marching after with the foot. Col. Oliver Cromwel having notice thereof, and underſtanding, by freſh experience, that victory is not always obtained by the greater number, having lately defeated, near Grantham, twenty four troops of the enemy's horſe and dragoons, with ſeven troops only which he had with him, reſolved to endeavour the relief of Gainſborough; and with twelve troops of horſe and dragoons marched

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marched thither; where he found the enemy, who were drawn up near the town, to be more than thrice his number, and no way to attack them but through a gate, and up-hill: notwithstanding which disadvantages, he adventured to fall upon them; and, after some dispute, totally routed them, killing many of their officers, and amongst them Lieutenant-General Cavendish. Thus was Gainsborough relieved. But the conquerors had little time to rejoice: for within two or three hours the routed enemy rallying, and joining with the rest of Newcastle's army, marched against them: upon which they retreated to Lincoln that night in good order, and without any loss, facing the enemy with three troops at a time as they drew off the rest. Lincoln not being defensible, Col. Cromwel marched the next day to Boston, that he might join the Earl of Manchester; who, with his new-raised forces, had very seasonably reduced Lynn, a town in Norfolk not far from the sea, naturally strong; and might have proved impregnable, if time had favoured art and industry to have fortified and furnished it with provisions. But Sir Hammond L'Estrange, who had before surprised it for the King, was soon surprised himself; and being suddenly summoned by the Earl of Manchester, and threatened with a storm, after he had fired a few great shot against the besiegers, thought fit to surrender it upon articles. From thence the Earl of Manchester marched to Boston; where, being joined by Col. Cromwel, appointed by the parliament to command under him, and a party of horse brought by Sir Thomas Fairfax by sea from Hull, he mustered about six thousand foot, and thirty seven troops of

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of horſe and dragoons. To prevent any further addition to his forces, the Earl of Newcaſtle advanced with his army, and ſent a ſtrong detachment of horſe and dragoons towards Boſton, appearing, by their ſtandards, to be eighty ſeven troops, commanded by Sir John Henderſon, an old ſoldier; who, hearing that Col. Cromwel was drawn out towards him with the horſe and dragoons, made haſte to engage him before the Earl of Mancheſter with the foot could march up; as accordingly it fell out at a place called *Winſby-field*, near Horn-caſtle. In the firſt ſhock Col. Cromwel had his horſe killed under him: yet the encounter was but ſhort, though very ſharp; for there being field-room enough, the fight laſted but a quarter of an hour before the Earl of Newcaſtle's forces were totally routed, and many of them killed; amongſt them the Lord Widdrington, Sir Ingram Hopton, and other perſons of quality. The enemy had no time to rally, being purſued by ours almoſt as far as Lincoln, which was fourteen miles off: in which purſuit divers of them were killed and made priſoners, and many horſe and arms taken. Neither were they ſuffered to reſt at Lincoln, the Earl of Mancheſter marching thither the day following; where the enemy's broken troops had endeavoured to fortify the higher part of the city, called *the Cloſe*; but had not quite finiſhed their works, when the Earl arrived, and ſummoned them to ſurrender; which they refuſing, our foot and horſe fell on, and took it by ſtorm, with little loſs on our ſide.

About this time a conſiderable party in Kent roſe, and declared for the King; which was diſperſed by ſome forces ſent from London, under the

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the command of Col. Brown; whereby the committee of Kent were encouraged and enabled to raise a good body of horse and foot for the service of the parliament.

My father apprehending that I was not likely to be relieved in three or four months, in case I were besieged; and knowing that the enemy were masters of the field in those parts, and that I was about twenty miles from any of our garrisons, procured an order from the parliament, impowering me to slight the castle of Wardour, and to draw off the garrison, if I saw cause; which care of theirs quickened my zeal to their service, and put me upon endeavouring, as well as I could, to prepare for the worst. To that end, being in want of ammunition, I went to Southampton, where I bought what they could spare, and returned to the castle; where, being in great want of money, having always paid the country-people for whatsoever I had from them, I made a seasonable discovery of money, plate, and jewels, to the value of about 1200 l. walled up by the enemy. Part of this sum I expended upon the garrison, and gave an account thereof to the parliament. The enemy was now beginning to draw about us, yet would not actually besiege us before they had endeavoured to reduce us by treachery. To this end, one Capt. White, a Papist, of Dorsetshire, having found a boy at Shaftsbury fit for the purpose, gave him such instructions as he thought fit. He was not above twelve years of age; and yet, as I was afterwards informed, had already attempted to poison his grandfather. This boy he sent to the castle, to desire of me to be admitted to turn the spit, or per-

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form any other servile employment; to which I consented, his youth freeing him, as I thought, from any suspicion. About three or four days after, a party of the enemy's horse appeared before the castle, and making a great shout, the cattle belonging to the garrison, consisting of about forty cows, and one bull, which they all followed, ran away at the noise. Some of us endeavouring to turn them, the enemy fired so thick upon us, that one of my soldiers and myself were forced to betake ourselves to a tree for shelter; where my soldier levelling his musket through a hole of the tree, which was about a foot in diameter, a ball from the enemy grasing upon the upper part of the hole, and thereby forced downwards, shot the young man through the hand, and me into the leg, which obliged me to keep my bed for two days. A great wall-gun called a *harquebuz de croq* being fired from the top of the castle, burst in the middle. At night, as this boy was sitting with the guard by the fire, some of them conceived a jealousy of him; and, strictly examining him about the cause of his coming, he affirmed it to be, because the master whom he served, had used him cruelly for speaking some words in favour of the parliament. With which answer they not being satisfied, threatened, that, unless he would confess the truth, they would hang him immediately; and, to affright him, tied a piece of match about his neck, and began to pull him up on a halbert. Upon this he promised to confess all, if they would spare his life; and thereupon acknowledged, that Capt. White had hired him to number the men and arms in the castle; to poison the arms, the well,

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well, and the beer; to blow up the ammunition, to steal away one of my best horses, to carry him back to them; for which service he was to receive half a crown; confessing, that he had accordingly poisoned two cannon, and the harquebuz that was broken; but pretended, that his conscience would not give him leave to poison the water and the beer. The great guns were made serviceable again by oiling, and making a fire in them. The poison he used, was of a red colour, and made up in the shape of a candle, with part of which he had rubbed three of our guns. After this deliverance, we got in some cattle for our provision; but the enemy drawing into the villages about us, soon prevented us from bringing in any more: yet we ventured one morning, knowing it to be market-day, to draw out between forty and fifty pikes and firelocks, with which we went about a quarter of a mile from the castle upon the road that leads to Shaftsbury. According to our expectation, the market-people came with carts and horses, loaded with corn and other provisions; which we seized, and sent to the castle, paying for it the market-price; at which they were not a little surprised. By this means we furnished ourselves with three months more provision than we had before: which we had no sooner taken in, when the enemy drew round the castle, and from that time blocked us up more closely, raising a breast-work, by casting up of earth about a tree which we had cut down on the side of a hill; from whence they commanded the gate of the castle, the only way that we had to sally out upon occasion, and shot several of our men, amongst the rest my gunner, as they

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fetched in wood. The perſon that commanded the party which lay before us, was one Capt. Chriſtopher Bowyer, of Dorſetſhire; who, to get us out of the caſtle, propoſed to grant us what terms we deſired: to which we replied, That we deſigned to diſcharge our duty, by keeping it as long as we could. Upon this he threatened us with great numbers of horſe and foot, attended with ſeveral pieces of cannon, which he ſaid were drawing towards us; boaſting of the juſtice of his cauſe, and repreſenting to us the greatneſs of our danger, and the inevitable ruin that muſt enſue upon our obſtinacy. But Capt. Bean, who at that time ſerved as cannoneer, ours being ſhot, as I mentioned before, told him, that we were not at all affrighted with his menaces; but, upon confidence of the juſtice of our cauſe, were reſolved to defend the place to the utmoſt; and, warning him to look to himſelf, fired a gun, with which he wounded him in the heel: and it being unſafe for any to carry him off by day, his wound gangrened before night, and he died about two days after. In the room of Capt. Bowyer, one Col. Barnes was ſent by the King to command the forces that lay before us. He was brother to an honeſt Gentleman who was chaplain to my father; for whoſe ſake, and becauſe he had the reputation of being an old ſoldier, a thing much valued by the parliament at that time, my father had procured him a conſiderable employment in their ſervice; in which he continued as long as their conſtant pay laſted, but that failing, he ran away to the King. Upon his coming, he raiſed a fort within muſket-ſhot of us, on the hill that ſurrounded the caſtle, except only on the weſt-

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weſt-ſide, where was a pond of about ſix acres. The enemy poſſeſſed themſelves of all the out-houſes; but uſed them only by night, not thinking it ſafe to come at them by day: which we obſerving, one evening conveyed forty men through a vault leading to thoſe houſes, ordering them to lie private, and endeavour to ſurpriſe them when they came; which had been effected, if one of ours, contrary to order, upon the entrance of the firſt of the enemy, had not fired his piſtol, and thereby given warning to the reſt to ſhift for themſelves. The man who was the occaſion of this diſappointment, was deprived of the uſe of his arms till he ſhould attempt ſomething for the redeeming of his reputation: which ſoon after, upon a ſally we made on the enemy, he did; in which we took two of the enemy's horſes, and made ſome priſoners. How many of them were killed, we could not learn. On our ſide ſome were wounded, of whom one died ſoon after.

A kinſman of mine, who was related to the Lord Cottington, was ſent from Oxford to offer me what terms I would deſire. I permitted him to come in, that, ſeeing our ſtrength and proviſion, he might make his report to the enemy to our advantage: for things were ſo ordered, by removing our guards from place to place, filling up our hogſheads with empty barrels, and covering them with beef and pork, and in like manner ordering our corn, that every thing appeared double to what it was to them. The ſubſtance of the conditions I propoſed, was, That, if I underſtood from the Earl of Eſſex that he could not relieve us within ſix months, we would then deliver the caſtle, upon condition

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that it ſhould not be made a garriſon; that the parliament ſhould have 2000 l. for what they had expended in the taking and keeping of it; with ſome other particulars. Which the Gentleman carried to Oxford with him: but we never had any return from him about them; neither indeed did we expect any. Our beer was now ſpent, our corn much diminiſhed, and we had no other drink but the water of our well; which though we drunk dry by day, yet it was ſufficiently ſupplied every night. But, being reſolved to keep the caſtle as long as we could, we ſhortened our allowance; ſo that three pecks and a half of wheat one day, and a buſhel of barley another, ſerved near a hundred men; which was all our force, my troop being ſent away before for want of conveniency for horſe. This allowance was ſo ſhort, that I cauſed one of the horſes we had taken to be killed; which the ſoldiers ate up in two days, beſides their ordinary.

The forces that had been ſent by the parliament to the aſſiſtance of the diſtreſſed Proteſtants in Ireland, being, under pretence that they were neglected, as hath been before mentioned, brought into England to ſerve againſt thoſe who raiſed them; and the rebels, by the pacification made with them by the King's order, contrary to his promiſe to the parliament, left in the full enjoyment of what they had gotten from the Engliſh by rapine or murder; part of thoſe who came out of Ireland, landed at Cheſter, and drew before Nantwich. They were commanded by one Capt. Sandford, brother to Sir William Sandford, a worthy perſon of Gray's-inn, to whom he had ſolemnly promiſed never to engage againſt the parliament; yet

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yet did he send in a very threatening summons to the town, and seconded it with a most furious assault, whilst the works were but slenderly defended, the guard consisting for the most part of townsmen, who were then gone to dinner. But it so happened, that a boy of the age of fifteen firing a musket from the town, shot him dead in the place; which discouraged his soldiers from any farther attempt.

Col. George Monk, who had been sent by the parliament into Ireland against the rebels, for some time scrupled to quit that service, and to engage in this, being upon that account secured on shipboard by the Earl of Ormond, whilst he sent those forces into England, lest he should have obstructed their going over; yet, having afterwards his liberty to wait on the King, was prevailed with to join with them, and soon after taken prisoner by a party from Yorkshire, commanded by Sir Thomas Fairfax, who sent him prisoner to Hull; from whence, some time after, he was conveyed to the Tower of London. Another party of the forces from Ireland landed in the west, and marched as far as Hinden towards Wardour castle, in order to besiege it. But being informed, that the person whom they were to dispossess was a Protestant, and he into whose hands they were to put it was a Papist, they mutinied against their officers, and refused to be employed against us.

The Queen landed with an army of French, Walloons, and other foreigners; and brought with her great store of ammunition and money, procured by pawning the crown-jewels in Holland. With these, and other forces, the Earl of Newcastle marched to besiege Hull; of which place

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place the Lord Ferdinando Fairfax was Governor; who, with the assistance of the seamen belonging to some ships that lay in the harbour, made so fierce a sally upon the enemy, that they were forced to quit some of their guns, and withdraw to a greater distance, leaving many of their men behind them; of whom some were killed, and others taken prisoners. Col. Overton carried himself, as I am well informed, with much honour and gallantry in this action. This bad success so dispirited the enemy, that they abandoned the siege, and retired to York: to which also the approach of winter, and the preparations of the Scots to march into England, did not a little contribute. For the parliaments of both kingdoms had at length agreed upon terms, and removed the last and greatest difficulty, consisting in some doubtful words in the covenant, which was to be taken by both nations, concerning *the preservation of the King's person*, and *reducing the doctrine and discipline of both churches to the pattern of the best reformed*. For which Sir Henry Vane, one of the commissioners of the parliament, found out an expedient, by adding to the first clause these or the like words, *in preservation of the laws of the land, and liberty of the subject*; and to the second, *according to the word of God*. Which being an explanation that could not be refused, prevented any farther contestation about that matter.

About this time, the enemy, by cruel usage, put a period to the life of my brother Capt. Robert Ludlow, who was their prisoner, as I before related. The news of this, and of the danger I was in, so afflicted my father, together with his constant labours in the public service, and

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and possibly his dissatisfaction about the imprisonment of his good friend Mr. Henry Martin, for words spoken in the house, as he conceived, in discharge of his duty, that he died, expressing himself deeply sensible of the condition of the bleeding nation, and heartily praying for the prosperity of the public cause. The words spoken by Mr. Martin in the parliament were to this purpose, That it was better one family should perish, than that the people should be destroyed: and being required to explain himself, he ingenuously confessed that he meant the family of the King; for which he was committed to the Tower, but afterwards released, and readmitted to his place in the parliament. About the same time Mr. John Pym also died, who had been very instrumental in promoting the interest of the nation. His body was for several days exposed to public view in Derby-house before it was interred, in confutation of those who reported it to be eaten with lice.

The enemy before Wardour castle kept their guards within pistol-shot of it day and night; so that we could not expect any more intelligence from abroad: yet one of ours, sent by us into the country a week before to inform us of the state of affairs, met, at an honest man's house not far from the castle, a soldier, whom the enemy had pressed to serve them; whose heart being with us, these two agreed, that, when relief should be coming, he who was without should appear with a white cap on his head, and blow his nose with his handkerchief. In the mean time the besiegers raised a battery, and, by a shot from thence, cut off the chain of our portcullis; which rendering our gate unservice-

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able to us, we made it ſo to them, by barricading it upon the inſide: ſo that now we had no way out but through a window, our other doors being walled up before. But the battery not anſwering their expectation, they reſolved to try other experiments, either by digging a hole in the caſtle-wall, and putting a ſufficient quantity of powder therein to blow it up, or by undermining the ſaid wall, and ſupporting it with timber, and then ſetting it on fire; whereby they ſuppoſed to deſtroy that alſo on which the wall reſted, and ſo to bring down the wall. In order to this, they prepared materials to defend them whilſt they were about the work, and brought together about two dozen of oaken planks three inches thick, which they endeavoured in a dark night to ſet up againſt the caſtle-wall, half of them on one ſide, and half on the other. Our centinels diſcovered them on one ſide, and beat them off, forcing them to leave their boards behind them. On the other ſide they ſet them up, and in the morning were heard at work under their ſhelter. We heard a noiſe of digging, but for ſome time could not perceive where. At length we diſcovered the place, and endeavoured to remove them, by throwing down hot water and melted lead, though to little purpoſe. At laſt, with hand-granadoes, we obliged them to quit their work, and to leave their tools behind them, with their proviſions for three or four days. And though we had no way out of the caſtle but by a narrow window, yet we brought in their materials and proviſions: for that morning having ſhot the officer that commanded their guard in the head, their trenches not being finiſhed to ſecure their approaches

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approaches to the out-houses, under the shelter of which they kept their guard; and being admonished, by what befel Capt. Bowyer, of the danger of delaying to dress a wound, they desired leave to carry off their wounded man; which I granted, on condition that they would commit no act of hostility in the mean time. And when five or six of them who carried him off were about pistol-shot from the wall, I appeared with forty musketeers ready to fire on the top of the castle, and ordered three or four men out of the window mentioned before, who brought in their materials.

A relation of mine, one Capt. Henry Williams, who commanded a company in Col. Barnes's regiment, desiring to be admitted to speak with me, and I consenting; he endeavoured to persuade me to a surrender, offering me any conditions I would ask: but his arguments made no impression upon me.

In the mean time, the King, to encourage his friends in the city to rise for him, sent them a commission to that purpose by the Lady Aubogny, which she brought made up in the hair of her head. But the design being discovered, she fled for refuge to the house of the French Ambassador; who refusing to deliver her to Sir Henry Vane and Mr. John Lisle, sent by the parliament with a guard to seize her, pretending his privilege, the house, being informed by Sir Francis Knowles, that, at the time of the bloody massacre at Paris, one of the French King's Secretaries who was of the reformed religion, flying to the English Ambassador's house for protection, and disguising himself amongst the grooms, was forced from thence by the King's command,

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command, ordered this Lady to be treated in the like manner; which was done accordingly. Hereupon an order was paſſed for the trial of thoſe who were engaged in this conſpiracy; and Mr. Thomſon and Mr. Chaloner were found guilty, and executed for it. Sir John Hotham and his ſon were alſo condemned to loſe their heads, for endeavouring to betray the garriſon of Hull to the enemy; which ſentence was put in execution upon the ſon the 1ſt of January 1643-4, and on the father the day following. Sir Alexander Carew was alſo beheaded, for endeavouring to betray Plymouth, with the government of which he was intruſted by the parliament.

About the 16th of the ſame January, the Scots marched into England; and having Berwick ſecured for them, the firſt thing they attempted, was the taking of Newcaſtle; which they did by ſtorm: the Lords and Commons, for their encouragement, having ſentenced, and cauſed execution to be done upon William Laud Archbiſhop of Canterbury, their capital enemy, on the 10th of the ſame month.

Sir William Waller, being reinforced with ſome city-regiments, thought himſelf ſtrong enough to take the field. And becauſe the weſtern clothiers were often obſtructed in their paſſage to London by the garriſon of Baſinghouſe, which was kept for the King, he attempted to reduce it, but was repulſed with loſs. After which he marched to Arundel in Suſſex; where he ſoon beat the King's garriſon out of the town into the caſtle; which, after ſome time, and the loſs of ſome men, was ſurrendered to him, with ſeveral perſons of quality therein, at mercy.

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About the middle of January, Sir William assured us, that if we held out a fortnight longer, he would relieve us, or lay his bones under our walls. We had also some hopes given us from Southampton and Pool; the latter of which places about this time some of the inhabitants endeavoured to betray to the Lord Crawfurd: but the design being discovered, as the enemy was entering the outworks, and expecting to be admitted into the town, some great guns loaded with small shot were fired upon his men, and made a great slaughter amongst them. Between these two garrisons of Southampton and Pool lay my troop of horse, to do what service they could against the enemy, and to favour our relief: where my Cornet, afterwards known by the name of Maj. William Ludlow, was shot through the body, and into the thigh, and his horse in two places, by some of the enemy from an ambuscade. Being brought to Southampton, and his wounds searched, the bullet that went in at his belly, was found at the chine of his back, with a piece of the waistband of his breeches; which being cut out, he wonderfully recovered, to be in some measure serviceable to the public.

To encourage the forces of Pool and Southampton to come to our relief, I sent them word, that they should have 7 or 800 l. to gratify them; which I was able to make good, with what I had remaining of the plate which I had found in one of the closets of the castle, as I mentioned before.

Towards the end of the winter, Sir Ralph Hopton, who commanded the King's forces in the west, being informed, that the battery

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which had fired againſt us for two months had done no great execution, and that Col. Barnes was more employed in plundering the country than in advancing the King's ſervice, ſent Sir Francis Dodington with a further ſupply of men to reduce us; and with him an engineer to undermine the caſtle. To this end they forced the miners of Meinſhup to aſſiſt them. As ſoon as we heard the noiſe of their digging, we endeavoured to countermine them: but the caſtle-walls being joined with an entire wall at the foundation, the mortar whereof was ſo well tempered, that it was harder than the ſtones themſelves, we could by no means break through it. Our medicines were now ſpent; and our chirurgeon, who with eight of his brothers ſerved at that time in my troop, ſhot through the body and diſabled; though the bullet glancing, miſſed the vitals. One of his brothers, with another ſoldier, adventured out of the window in order to procure ſome means for his recovery; whilſt ſome of ours, by diſcourſes, firing and much noiſe, drew the enemy to the other ſide of the caſtle: ſo that they ſafely paſſed their guards, and went to the honeſt man's houſe before mentioned; where they met again that friend of ours, who, being preſſed by the enemy to ſerve them, remained with them to ſerve us; and received from him a letter directed to us from ſome of our friends, encouraging us to hold out, and promiſing us relief within ten days: of whoſe approach this our friend undertook to give us notice, by the ſigns before agreed on. Our meſſengers having furniſhed themſelves with what they went for, returned to us with this good news, this poor honeſt man having

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having drawn off the centinel by whom they were to pass.

The ten days being expired, and ten more after them, without any tidings of relief, our provisions wasting, I observed a great silence amongst the enemy; and being desirous to know whether our friend were upon the guard, that we might learn of him what he knew, we took occasion from their silence to desire of them, that if they were alive, they would make some noise, though they might not be permitted to speak. Which one of them doing by blowing his nose, we were willing to make a further discovery; and having told him he did it in his sleeve for want of a handkerchief, he by this time understanding our meaning, appeared in sight, and with his handkerchief blew his nose again; endeavouring by signs and words to inform us of our condition, digging in the wall of the stable, and laying the stones in order: then discoursing with two of his fellows, he challenged them to play at football with one of them the next, and with the other the day after; saying to them aloud, that we might hear, If I beat the first, I fear not the second. Though we supposed that the first danger he designed to admonish us of, was the mine; yet, for the more clear discovery thereof, we laid a train of powder upon the castle-wall, which he by signs signified to us to be what he intended. But we were mistaken in the interpretation of his second action, by which we concluded he designed to represent to us a speedy relief, if we could hold out against the first; though it was indeed another mine prepared to spring immediately after the first, as we afterwards found, though we

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never had the happineſs to ſee or ſpeak with the poor man more. I received a letter from Sir Francis Dodington, who commanded in chief before us; wherein, taking notice of the relation between our families, he expreſſed himſelf ready to do me any friendly office; and adviſed me to a timely delivery of the caſtle, leſt, by refuſing ſo to do, I ſhould bring my blood upon my own head. In my anſwer I acknowledged his civility; aſſuring him, that, being intruſted with the cuſtody of it by the authority of the parliament for the ſervice of the country, I could chearfully lay down my life in diſcharge of the truſt repoſed in me: for that it would not be only in my defence, but in defence of the laws and liberties of the nation; and therefore cautioned him how he proceeded any farther in aſſaulting us, leſt he ſhould thereby contract the guilt of more innocent blood. His letter with my anſwer he ſent to Oxford; as appeared by the weekly news-paper of London, wherein they were printed from that of Oxford, which *Aulicus* publiſhed to ſhew my *opiniatrete*, and *Britannicus* my fidelity to the public cauſe.

The two nights following we all continued upon the guard. And upon the Thurſday morning, being very weary, I lay down and ſlept till between ten or eleven of the clock; at which time one of my great guns firing upon the enemy, ſhook the match which they had left burning for the ſpringing of the mine, into the powder; ſo that the mine ſpringing, I was lifted up with it from the floor, with much duſt ſuddenly about me: which was no ſooner laid, but I found both the doors of my chamber blown open, and my window towards the enemy blown down,

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down, so that a cart might have entered at the breach. The party which they had prepared to storm us, lay at some distance, to secure themselves from any hurt by the springing of the mine: but that being done, they made haste to storm; which they might easily do at my window, the rubbish of the castle having made them a way almost to it. Those who stormed on my side, were the Irish yellow-coats, commanded by Capt. Leicester. My pistols being wheel-locks, and wound up all night, I could not get to fire; so that I was forced to trust to my sword for the keeping down of the enemy, being alone in the chamber, and all relief excluded from me, except such as came in by one of my windows that looked into the court of the castle; through which I called to my men there, acquainting them with my condition, and requiring them to hasten to my relief. Mr. Gabriel Ludlow, my kinsman, not only came himself, but ordered others to my assistance; and to that end placed a ladder under the window before mentioned; which being too short by near two yards, I was obliged to leave the breach where the enemy was ready to enter, five or six times, to take his arms and himself in; which being done, he helped in five or six more; whom I ordered to fill up the breach and the doors with the bed, chairs, table, and such things as were next at hand. This place being in some measure secured, I went to see what other breaches had been made, and to provide for their defence; and found one in the room under me well defended, but that in the ground-room on the other side not at all. There I placed a guard, and ran to the upper rooms, which had many

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doors and windows blown open; at every one of which I appointed a guard in some measure proportionable to the danger. From thence I went to the top of the castle, which was leaded, and of a sexangular figure, with a turret upon each angle. Two of these were blown down, with part of the leads; behind which the enemy sheltered themselves, so that we could not remove them by our shot; but, by throwing down some great stones, with which the mine had plentifully furnished us, we killed one of theirs, and wounded some others. Capt. Leicester was one of those who sheltered themselves behind this rubbish, and desired leave to carry off the wounded men that were with him: which I readily granted; letting them know, that we sought not their blood, but our own defence. Soon after we also had occasion to make trial of their humanity: for one of our soldiers being buried in the outward rubbish of the castle, and yet alive, sent to acquaint me with his condition, and to desire my help. Upon which I desired of the enemy, that they would dig him out, and make him prisoner; or suffer us to do it, and we would deliver him to them. But they would consent to neither. And when I told them, that I had not used them so, but had permitted them to carry off their wounded men; they replied, That though it was my favour to suffer that, yet their chief officer would not permit this. The poor man lived in this condition near three days; and then, through most barbarous usage, being denied any relief, he died. We lost three of our men by the springing of the mine, but the rest were most wonderfully preserved. Our provision of corn, which at the rate we

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we lived would have lasted three weeks longer, was blown up, with part of our ammunition; but our provision of flesh, being for about four days, was preserved. Whilst this lasted, I thought it advisable, having repulsed the enemy, to put the best countenance we could upon our affairs, hoping by so doing we might bring the enemy to give us the better conditions. But Mr. Balsum our Minister, with two or three more religious men, who till that time had carried themselves without discovering any fear, pressed me very earnestly to propose a treaty to the enemy. I told them, that it was a very unseasonable time to do any thing of that nature, having beat off the enemy, and three or four days provisions left; that I did not doubt before that was spent, by a good improvement of our time, to bring the enemy to reasonable terms: whereas if we should now desire a treaty with them, they would conclude our spirits low, our condition desperate, and so hold us to harder terms, or it may be give us none at all. They replied, That if I refused to hearken to their proposal, they judged that all the blood that should be spilt in further opposition, would be charged upon my account. This being a very heavy charge laid on me by men of age and experience, of whose integrity I had a very good opinion, I durst not resist any longer, by balancing my youth and little experience against their years and judgment; and therefore left it to them to do what they should think fit: but they assuring me they would rather lose their lives than do any thing without me, I promised, that if they would call to the enemy for a parley, I would answer. Whereupon they moved it to the enemy; who took time

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time to acquaint their commander in chief with it. His answer was, That since we had refused to treat with him whilst the castle was whole, he would not now treat with us. I could not forbear letting the besiegers know, that the return was no other than I expected; that the motion did not arise from me, but was consented to by me for the satisfaction of some about me, who were now resolved to expose themselves with me to the utmost hazards in defence of the place, without demanding any terms again; not doubting, if we were necessitated to lay down our lives in this service, to sell them at a good rate. My friends having found their advice to produce no other effect than I had foretold, resolved for the future to be wholly disposed of by me: so that both officers and soldiers began to prepare against the utmost extremity. None of ours had been killed by the shot during the storm; but some slightly wounded, and their cloaths shot through, a bullet from the enemy having pierced my hat close by my head. The besiegers had ten killed by shot and stones in the storm, and divers wounded. Amongst the former was one Hillsdeane; who a little before he expired said, he saw his brother fire that musket by which he received his mortal wound: which might probably be, his brother being one of those who defended that breach where he, attempting to enter, was shot. But if it were so, he might justly do it by the laws of God and man; it being done in the discharge of his duty, and in his own defence. The silver plate belonging to the house, found soon after we were close besieged, I buried in the cellar, with the help of one of my servants. On Saturday the

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the enemy began to converse friendly with us; and a cessation of acts of hostility being agreed upon, a son of Col. Barnes, Capt. Farmer, Mr. Plott, the Gentleman whom I formerly mentioned to be related to the Lord Cottington, and to have endeavoured to persuade me to surrender the castle before the siege, with several other officers, came up close to the breaches; where we conferred together. And they earnestly pressing me to surrender, I told them I would not be averse to it upon fitting terms: for had not those who owned the castle made use of it to the prejudice of the country, I presumed it had not been taken from them, and possessed by us, in order to prevent the like inconveniences for the future; against which conceiving sufficient provision made by the springing of the late mine, I was willing to quit the same, if we might have liberty to march to the next garrison belonging to the parliament, with our arms, and what else we had in the castle. They replied, They could not answer to his Majesty the giving of such conditions to us; Sir William Waller having lately refused to receive Arundel castle from some of the King's party upon any other terms than at mercy, who they knew to have been in a much better state of defence than we were; and therefore pressed us to deliver ourselves upon the same condition, promising us much favour. To this I answered, That some related to us had already experienced the favours they extended to their prisoners; that the compliance of those at Arundel ought to be no precedent to us; and that unless we might march off, we would not surrender.

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They told me, the longer I held out, the worſe it would be for me. And Mr. Plott, who, as he ſince informed me, had prevailed with them to propoſe this treaty, earneſtly preſſed me to lay hold on the opportunity; intimating by his words and geſtures, that if I refuſed it, I ſhould not have another. But I reſolving to defend the place as long as I could, our treaty came to nothing. I had ſome thoughts of charging through the enemy in the beginning of the night, in order to force our way to the neareſt of our garriſons; which I preſumed might have been effected by the morning: but the deſperate condition in which we muſt have left our ſick and wounded men, diverted me from putting that deſign in execution. And now the ſpirits of my ſoldiers began to flag; my gunſmith deſiring leave to go home; and ſeveral others making choice of one amongſt them to ſpeak for them, were very importunate with me to ſurrender. With which expreſſing myſelf diſpleaſed, I acquainted them, that I would take the beſt time to do it for their advantage, and thereby quieted them; ſo that they reſolved to move me no more about it; yet ceaſing not to complain to each other of their wants and hardſhips, the enemy became acquainted therewith, as they afterwards told me. On the Lord's day in the afternoon, the beſiegers diſcourſed with ſome of our men who were upon the leads, endeavouring to draw as many of them as they could thither, that the breaches being left unguarded, they might have an opportunity to take us by ſtorm. Which I perceiving, made uſe of it to animate our men afreſh; and ſucceeded ſo well therein, that the enemy by our chearfulneſs began

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gan to ſuſpect that we had ſome notice of relief approaching. This ſuſpicion cauſed them to continue diſcourſing with my ſoldiers moſt part of the night, to get the truth out of them; promiſing them liberty to march away, if they would deliver Mr. Balſum our Miniſter, or myſelf, to them. The next morning many of them came up to one of the breaches, to perſuade us to ſurrender: which opportunity being willing to improve, having ten doors blown open by the firſt mine, our walls that ſtood being cracked in ſeveral places, and another mine ready to ſpring, that would probably level the moſt part of the caſtle with the ground, not having proviſion ſufficient for one day left, nor any hopes of relief; I propounded to them to yield myſelf their priſoner, if they would conſent that thoſe with me might march off. To which they anſwering, That though my good-nature led me to make that offer, yet they could not accept of it; I told them, that unleſs I might have four things granted, I would not deliver the caſtle: 1. Quarter without diſtinction for the lives of every one; 2. Civil uſage for all my party; 3. Not to be carried to Oxford; 4. A ſpeedy exchange. They promiſed me I ſhould have all theſe made good to the full. And Col. Barnes ſaid, that if I pleaſed to come out to them, I ſhould find more friends than I expected. Whereupon, requiring my men to be upon their guard, and not to ſuffer any to come near them till my return, I went out to them: and they brought me to the Lord Arundel and Sir Francis Dodington, who were without the garden-wall; where my Lord Arundel aſſured me, that what was agreed ſhould be made good to me; and

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was pleased further to add, That though he preferred my conversation before the enjoyment of his own children, yet, if I thought fit to persist in the way I had begun, he would do his utmost to endeavour that I might be exchanged for his two sons, who were then prisoners with Sir William Waller. To this I answered, That if I were convinced that the cause I had engaged in was not good, I should soon recede from it; but till then I could not but persist in the prosecution thereof. Sir Francis Dodington told me, he was glad to see me alive, but sorry to find so much resolution employed in so bad a cause. I let him know, that my apprehensions concerning the cause were very different from his, else I had not hazarded myself as I had done. He also promised the performance of the articles to the utmost of his power; and for myself, that whilst I was in his custody, I should have no other prison but his own lodgings. Thus all things being agreed upon, I returned to the castle, and ordered my soldiers to lay down their arms; which being done, the enemy directed them to draw together into a certain room in the castle, where they set a guard upon them; but gave me the liberty of the place upon my parole, offering me one or two of my own company to associate with me. Whereupon I desired that my cousin Gabriel Ludlow, Mr. Balsum, and a servant, might be permitted to come to me; which was granted. Their civility to me was such, especially that of the Lord Arundel, that I discovered to him the plate and other things that I had hid in the castle. But I cannot say, that they performed their articles with me in relation to my men: for the second day after their entrance,

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trance, they threatened to take away the lives of two of them; who, having been formerly preſſed by them, and their conſciences not giving them leave to ſerve them, choſe rather to come to us, and be beſieged with us, than to have liberty to range, and oppreſs the country with them. The poor men made their condition known to me; and I went to the chief officers of the enemy, and charged them with it as a breach of that article, by which we were to have all our lives ſecured to us, in virtue of theſe words, *Quarter without diſtinction.* Capt. Leiceſter, to whom I principally applied myſelf, becauſe he pretended to moſt experience in things of this nature, told me, That I only conditioned for my ſoldiers; and that thoſe who ran from them, were not mine, but theirs. I replied, That they were never theirs, though they had forced them to be with them, having preſſed them into their ſervice; which they had no power to do: but though it ſhould be granted that they had been theirs, yet they were now ours; and the words of the article were, *Quarter without diſtinction.* He anſwered, That if I had intended to have theſe included, I ſhould have particularly named them. I told him, That it was needleſs, every particular being included in the univerſal; and that if I had ſuſpected ſuch uſage, I would have died before I would have delivered the caſtle to them. He ſaid, That if I diſliked the conditions, they would withdraw, and leave me as they found me. I replied, That ſeeing they were now acquainted with my neceſſities, that propoſition was as unworthy and diſingenuous as their interpretation of the articles; and that if they

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proceeded to extremities against the two soldiers, because the power was at present in their hands, I did not doubt that God would give me an opportunity to resent it; and if not, I was fully assured that he would do it himself. In the afternoon I was desired to go to Sir Francis Dodington's quarters, which were at a Gentleman's house about half a mile from the castle: to which place I was accompanied by one Lieut. Elsing, brother to the clerk of the parliament of that name; with whom I had a free debate concerning the justice of our cause, and the evil of their undertaking; especially of those amongst them, who, having been sent by the parliament against the rebels in Ireland, had returned, and drawn their swords against those that had raised them; which was his case. He was so convinced of the truth of what I said, that he took the first opportunity he could find to return to us; and, to that end, went to the garrison of Glouceſter, where he was employed, and behaved himself so well, that he was advanced to the command of a Lieutenant-Colonel in a regiment of foot; in which capacity he went afterwards into Ireland, where he lost his life against the rebels. Having received notice, that a council of war was sitting upon the two soldiers before mentioned, and also that they endeavoured to find some pretext to take away the life of Mr. Balsum our Minister, I sent to admonish them to be careful to preserve themselves from the guilt of innocent blood; putting them in mind, that if they proceeded to such a breach of their faith, they must expect to account for it at another time. Upon this message, one Capt. Bishop, observing them to persist in their bloody intentions, withdrew from

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from the council, and ſoon after from the party. But Sir Francis Dodington and Capt. Leiceſter ſo ordered the matter at the council, that the two ſoldiers were condemned, and moſt perfidiouſly executed. They alſo diſcovered all imaginable malice againſt Mr. Balſum: but finding no colour to proceed againſt him in this public way, they fell upon a more ſecret and baſer method to take away his life; to that end, ſending three men, who broke in upon him whilſt he was at prayer: but he riſing up, and looking ſteddily upon them, obſerving them to ſtand ſtill, demanded of them the cauſe of their coming; who, ſtanding ſome time with horror and confuſion in their faces, after ſome conference with each other, confeſſed to him, that they were ſent to deſtroy him; but that they found a ſuperior power reſtraining them, and convincing them of the wickedneſs of their intentions; offering to convey him out of the hands of his enemies, or to do any thing elſe for him that he ſhould deſire. He thanked them for their kindneſs; and, being unwilling they ſhould hazard themſelves for his ſake, deſired only ſome few neceſſaries, the weather being cold, and he in great want; which they readily furniſhed him with. Soon after he was carried away to Saliſbury, and the reſt of the officers and ſoldiers of our garriſon ſent to Oxford; contrary to the expreſs words of the third article of our capitulation, the enemy pretending to a poſitive order of the King for ſo doing. Sir Francis Dodington having diſpatched ſome affairs in the country, took me with him to Wincheſter; and, in our way thither, ſhewed me a letter from Sir Ralph Hopton, deſiring him to uſe all means poſſible to

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draw me to their party; which he endeavoured, by making use of the best arguments he could, to prove the justice of their cause, the probability of their success, and the inconsiderableness of our strength in all parts; accompanying them with all the encouragements imaginable. The first night of our journey we lay at one Mr. Awbery's of Chalk; where we met with Dr. Earl, and young Mr. Gataker, whom he desired to assist him in his design to convert me. Mr. Gataker rather chid than argued with me. Dr. Earl accused the parliament of endeavouring the destruction of learning; which I desiring him to make appear, he told me, That, by abolishing Episcopacy, we took away all encouragement to it; for that men would not send their sons to the university, had they not some hopes that they might attain to that preferment. To this I replied, That it would be much more honest for such men to train up their children at the plough, whereby they might be certainly provided with a livelihood, than to spend their time and money to advance them to an office, pretended to be spiritual, and instituted for spiritual ends, upon such a sordid principle and consideration. Sir Francis, as I conceived, ashamed of the Doctor's discourse, put an end to the conversation. The next day we went to Salisbury; where, though multitudes of people were in the streets, and in the inn where I was lodged, no person offered me the least incivility, though I took the liberty in my chamber to maintain the justice of our cause, in the presence of forty or fifty of the town. Mr. John Penruddock, High Sheriff of the county, having confined Mr. Balsum to the county-goal, and sent to him to prepare

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prepare himself to die, assuring him that he was to be executed in a short time, came to me, and, with many other expressions of kindness, desired me, that, in case of any extremity, I would send to him; assuring me, that he wished me as well as his own children, and promising that he would ride night and day to serve me. This poor Gentleman was so unhappy, during his shrievalty, to have two of his nephews, presuming upon their uncle's interest, and pressing through his guards, killed by them; he having given order, that none should be permitted to pass without a strict examination. In our way to Winchester, one Mr. Fisher, an acquaintance of mine, then an officer of the King's, saluted me, and inquiring how I did; I answered him, As well as one could be in my condition. He thereupon replied, Why, I hope they use you civilly; do they not? Yes, said I, very civilly. Sir Francis Dodington over-hearing him, took it so ill, that he caused him to be immediately disarmed; telling him, that he was too bold to call in question the usage of his prisoner. Being arrived at Winchester, I staid at an inn, till a private lodging was provided for Sir Francis; at whose quarters, according to his promise, I lodged whilst in his custody. Most of the officers about the town came to me at the inn. Several of them pressing me to discourse, and particularly concerning the justice of our cause, I excused myself, by reason of my present circumstances. But they still persisting, I thought myself obliged to maintain the necessity of our taking up arms in defence of our religion and liberties. But some of them being wholly biassed to their interest, as they went from me, met a

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relation of mine, one Col. Richard Manning, who, though a Papiſt, commanded a regiment of horſe in the King's ſervice, and told him, that they came from one of the boldeſt rebels that they had ever ſeen. The Colonel coming to viſit me, informed me of this diſcourſe; adviſing me, whatſoever I thought, not to be ſo free with them, leſt they ſhould do me ſome miſchief. The next morning, before our departure for Oxford, Sir Francis Dodington brought me to Sir Ralph Hopton's lodgings; which being the head quarters, we found there moſt of the principal officers of that army; where the General, after he had ſaluted me, demanded how I, being a Gentleman, could ſatisfy myſelf to bear arms againſt my King. I told him, that, as I conceived, the laws both of God and man did juſtify me in what I had done. Well, ſaid he, I underſtand you are ſo fixed in your principle, that I am like to do little good upon you by my perſuaſions; but ſhall deſire the Archbiſhop of Armagh to take the pains to ſpeak with you when you come to Oxford; and if he cannot work on you, I know not who can. This Biſhop was very learned, and of great reputation for piety; yet I was aſſured by one who had his information from Mr. Bernard of Batcomb, that when the ſaid Mr. Bernard earneſtly preſſed him to deal faithfully with the King in the controverſy which was between him and the parliament concerning Epiſcopacy, according to his own judgment in that matter, which he knew to be againſt it, repreſenting to him the great and important ſervice he would thereby do to the church of God; the Archbiſhop anſwered, That if he ſhould do as

Mr.

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Mr. Bernard proposed, he should ruin himself and family, having a child, and many debts. For this reason, those arguments which could not prevail with me when used by others, were not likely to be of more efficacy from him, who, in a business of such concernment, had been diverted from the discharge of his duty by such low and sordid considerations.

The next day I came to Oxford, conducted by a party of horse commanded by one who was Captain-Lieutenant to Sir Francis Dodington; where reposing a while, at a house near Christ-church, till the pleasure of the King might be known concerning me, there came to me two persons very zealous to justify the King's cause, and to condemn that of the parliament. These men were Irish Papists, sent over by the rebels in Ireland to treat with the King on their part, about assisting him against the parliament. This I afterwards understood from one of them, whose name was Callaghan O Callaghan, when, together with the brigade commanded by the Lord Musquerry, he laid down his arms to me in Ireland. The King looking upon such men as most fit to be confided in, gives the presidentship of Munster, vacant by the death of Sir William St. Ledger, to the Lord Musquerry, an Irish rebel; which the Lord Inchiquin, son-in-law to Sir William, soliciting for, and claiming a right to it, took so ill, that the Lord Broghill, as he since informed me, found no great difficulty to prevail with him to declare for the parliament; who thereupon made him their President of Munster. In this capacity he performed many considerable services against the Irish, taking great store of plunder from them, and not sparing

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ring even his own kindred; but, if he found them faulty, hanging them up without diſtinction. Having brought together an army, he marched into the county of Tipperary; and hearing that many prieſts and gentry about Caſhel had retired with their goods into the church, he ſtormed it, and, being entered, put 3000 of them to the ſword, taking the prieſts even from under the altar. Of ſuch force is ambition when it ſeizes upon the minds of men.

About this time Sir Edward Deering came from the King's quarters at Oxford, and ſurrendered himſelf at Weſtminſter; where being examined in the houſe of Commons, he ſaid, that, ſince the ceſſation made with the rebels in Ireland, ſeeing ſo many Papiſts and Iriſh in the King's army, and his councils wholly governed by them, his conſcience would not permit him to remain longer with the King; and therefore he was come to throw himſelf upon the mercy of the parliament, and, in conformity to their declaration, to compound for his delinquency. Accordingly he was admitted to compoſition, and an order made to proceed in like manner towards ſuch as ſhould come in after him. Whereupon the Earl of Weſtmorland, and divers others, came in to the parliament, and deſired the benefit of their declaration for compoſition.

Whilſt I was attending the King's pleaſure at Oxford, the Captain that conveyed me thither brought me word, that he was ordered to deliver me to Mr. Thorpe, the keeper of the caſtle; and, pretending much affection to me, told me, that the ſaid keeper would take from me my upper garment, my money, and all that was

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was loose about me; advising me therefore to leave such things with him, and promising to bring them to me in the morning. I not suspecting his design, delivered him my cloak, with my money, and some other things; all which he carried away with him the next day: neither could I have any redress, though I wrote to Sir Francis Dodington, complaining of this treachery, the keeper of the castle not laying the least claim to any such thing. Our sick and wounded men, after they had been kept for some time prisoners in the hall of Wardour castle, where a Popish priest, very solemnly, with his hands spread over them, cursed them three times, were carried from thence to Bristol. In the castle at Oxford I met with Mr. Balsum, and other friends, who had been with me in Wardour castle, with many more who were detained there for their affection to the parliament; amongst whom were, Col. Shilborn of Buckinghamshire, Col. Henley of Dorsetshire, Capt. Haley of Gloucestershire, and Capt. Abercrombie, a Scotsman. I had a friend in the town who furnished me with what I wanted. Those who had not any such means of relief, were supplied from London by a collection of the sum of 300l. made for them by some citizens, and conveyed down to them. Neither was Oxford itself destitute of some who contributed to their relief; one Dr. Hobbs in particular, who preached then at Carfax, an honest man of the Episcopal party, usually putting them in mind of it after his sermon. The prisoners taken by the King's party had been treated very cruelly, especially at Oxford, by Smith the Marshal there: but the members of parliament that deserted their trust at

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at Weſtminſter, coming thither, and ſitting in council there, having not quite loſt the affections of Engliſhmen, took the examination of that affair into their hands, and ſuſpended Smith from the execution of his office, till he ſhould give ſatisfaction concerning thoſe things of which he was accuſed. They committed the management of the place to one Thorpe, and ſent ſome of their own number to inquire concerning our uſage. In the mean time Smith came to me by order, and offered me the liberty of the town, and to lodge where I pleaſed therein, upon my parole to be a true priſoner: but demanding of him, whether, in caſe I accepted his offer, I might have the liberty to viſit my friends in the caſtle when I thought fit, and he anſwering, that it would not be allowed, I choſe rather to be confined with my friends, than at liberty with my enemies. The Lord Arundel endeavouring to make good his promiſe of procuring my exchange for his two ſons, earneſtly ſolicited the King to it. But though he had been a great ſufferer for his ſervice, the King poſitively refuſed to grant his requeſt, telling him, he had no uſe for children. The Lady Byron came to me, and deſired me to procure her huſband, who was priſoner in the Tower, to be exchanged for me; and carried a letter from me to my mother, then at London, about it; who ſoliciting the Earl of Eſſex our General to that effect, was deſired by him not to trouble herſelf any more therein, aſſuring her that he would be as careful of me, as if I were his own ſon. A perſon from Sir Edward Stradling came alſo to me, in order to an exchange between us; telling me, that the King had promiſed that nothing of that nature ſhould

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be done before Sir Edward Stradling and Col. Lunsford were exchanged. The Lord Willmot ſent a Gentlemen to acquaint me, that he had procured a grant from the King, that I ſhould be exchanged for Sir Hugh Pollard; and that if I would write a letter to the Earl of Eſſex with the propoſal, he would ſend it by a trumpeter: but I judging this exchange to be very unequal, Sir Hugh being a perſon much eſteemed for his intereſt and experience, propoſed in my letter to the Lord General, that he would put ſome other perſon with me into the balance againſt him. Whilſt I was in expectation of the General's anſwer, we received advice, that moſt of our foot that lay before Newark, commanded by Sir John Meldrum, a worthy Scotſman, were defeated and made priſoners by Prince Rupert. But this loſs was in ſome meaſure recompenſed by a victory obtained at Cherington, in Hampſhire, by our forces, commanded by Sir William Waller, againſt thoſe of the King commanded by Sir Ralph Hopton. The numbers on each ſide were very near equal, and the ſucceſs had been doubtful for the moſt part of the day; but at laſt the enemy was totally routed, and put to flight. And had good uſe been made of this victory, the controverſy had ſoon been decided in the weſt. But we were not yet ſo happy to improve our advantages: by which negligence we got little more than the field, and the reputation of the victory, though the enemy loſt ſome of their principal officers in the fight; amongſt whom were, the Lord John, brother to the Duke of Lennox, Sir Edward Stawell, Col. Richard Manning, formerly mentioned, and that Smith who had been knighted by the King

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King for reſcuing his ſtandard out of the hands of Mr. Chambers, Secretary to the Earl of Eſſex. This fight at Cherington happened on the 29th of March 1644, about a fortnight after the ſurrender of Wardour caſtle; till which time had I been able to keep it, I ſhould have been relieved. The enemy's officers came to the caſtle at Oxford, to ſolicit the priſoners to take arms under them; but finding their endeavours to prove ineffectual, they ſoon deſiſted from that attempt. After three weeks confinement here, my exchange was agreed, the Lord General Eſſex expreſſing much generoſity and readineſs in it, as he had promiſed to my mother: for, leſt the King ſhould be reminded of his promiſe to Sir Edward Stradling and Col. Lunsford, or of that to my Lord Willmot in favour of Sir Hugh Pollard, and ſo on either hand the deſign of my liberty come to be obſtructed, he conſented to the exchange of all the three, for Col. Houghton, Sir John Saville, Capt. Abercrombie, and myſelf. Col. Henley went off alſo with us, being exchanged for Lt-Col. Robert Sandys. I was led blindfold through the city of Oxford till I had paſſed their works, and the next day arrived at London; where I found the Earl of Eſſex diſpoſed to an exchange for my officers and ſoldiers, which was ſoon after made; and with them for Mr. Balſum, whom he entertained as his chaplain to the time of his death. He expreſſed a great deſire to provide me with a command in his army: but the parliament, upon the inſtances of the Gentlemen that ſerved for the county of Wilts, having appointed me Sheriff thereof, upon an invitation of Sir Arthur Haſlerig to be Major of his regiment of horſe in Sir William

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William Waller's army, which was designed for the service of the west, I accepted of it, and mounted the choicest of my old soldiers with me, Sir Arthur buying a hundred horse in Smithfield for that purpose. The rest of my men the Lord General took into his own company. As soon as my troop was completed, and furnished with all things necessary, I repaired to the regiment, then with Sir William Waller near Abingdon; who was directed by the parliament with his army to block up the King at Oxford on one side, whilst the Earl of Essex should do the same on the other. Which storm the Queen foreseeing, withdrew to Exeter; where she was delivered of a daughter; which she leaving in the custody of the Lady Dalkeith, returned to France, as well to secure herself, as to solicit for supplies. In the mean time, the King breaking out from Oxford, marched towards Worcestershire: upon which the Earl of Essex commanded Sir William Waller to march after him, whilst he himself with his army marched westward. This order seemed very strange to the parliament, and to most of us; being likely to break Sir William Waller's army, which consisted for the most part of western Gentlemen, who hoped thereby to have been enabled to secure the country, and to promote the public service. The parliament sent to the Lord General to observe his former orders, and to attend the King's motions: but he sending them a short answer, continued his march west; in which he took Weymouth, and relieved Lyme, that had endured a long siege, and, with the assistance of the seamen, though their works were inconsiderable, had often repulsed the enemy, and killed

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led great numbers of them in several sallies that they made upon them. A party commanded by Sir Robert Pye was ordered to Taunton; which he reduced to the obedience of the parliament. Upon the advance of the Earl of Essex, the army of the enemy commanded by Prince Maurice retreated farther westward. Sir William Waller, according to his orders from the General, followed the King; but could not find an opportunity to engage him: so that the summer being almost spent, and the western Gentlemen observing little done for the security of those parts to which they were related, prevailed with him to permit Col. Alexander Popham, Col. Edward Popham his brother, myself, and some others, to return into the west, in order to provide recruits for his army, and to secure the country. To this end, I received a commission from him to raise and command a regiment of horse, with a permission to take my own troop with me. As soon as we came into Wiltshire, we were earnestly solicited to go to the relief of Maj. Wansey, who was besieged by the enemy in Woodhouse, formerly purchased of my father by Mr. Arundel, brother to the Lord Arundel of Wardour. Upon our approach, we understanding that their forces were drawn off, staid a day or two at the Devizes; where notice being brought to us of the enemy's return before that place, we immediately advanced, and came that night to Warmister; from whence we sent a party of about forty horse, with orders to bring us certain intelligence of the enemy's condition. This party meeting upon Warmister-heath with about the like number of theirs, fought them; and, having taken some prisoners, returned

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returned to us, with an account, that the enemy only drew off from Woodhouſe to reinforce themſelves for the better carrying on their work; in order to which Sir Ralph Hopton with 1000 horſe was come from Briſtol. The next morning a party of the enemy's horſe faced us on the heath, thereby to provoke us to charge them, and then by retreating from us, to have drawn us within their body of horſe, who were marching on our left amongſt the hedges, endeavouring to get into our rear; which we ſuſpecting, forbore making any attempt upon them; and, about noon, finding that we were not in a condition of performing what we came about, marched off towards Saliſbury. We were no ſooner got upon the downs, but we diſcovered their body of horſe marching into the town; yet we continued our march, obſerving the enemy as well as we could; to which end I kept in the rear: and diſcovering them climbing the hills not far from us, I informed Col. Alexander Popham thereof; telling him, that they appearing to be at leaſt four times our number, I thought it not at all adviſable to engage them. But he ſaying, that, ſince they were ſo near, we could not in honour avoid it, I promiſed him that I would not deſert him. Whereupon he drew up his party into one body; which, with reformed officers and others, conſiſted of near a hundred; and I drew up my troop, conſiſting of the like number, into another body: but having before ſent away my ſumpter and led horſes, upon ſuſpicion of the event, I was obliged to ride after them, to take my ſuit of arms, which was with them; having ordered my men not to ſtir from their ground till I came back, in which they

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were very punctual. As I was returning, I met Col. Popham and all his party flying; of whom demanding the cause of this alteration of his resolution, he answered, that it was by no means advisable to fight them. I found my men standing their ground, and the enemy advancing towards them in twelve bodies, each of which seemed to be as big as ours. I thanked them for obeying my orders; and told them, that, if they continued to do so, I doubted not, by the blessing of God, to bring them off. In order to which I sent my standard before with half a score chosen horse, and then began to march off with the rest: but finding some of my men beginning to ride for it, I put myself at the head of them, to let them see that I could ride as fast as they; withal telling them, that, if they would stand by me, I would bring up the rear. By this means I got my men to keep close together, which contributed much to their safety. The greatest part of the other company followed Col. Edward Popham to Salisbury; but his brother Col. Alexander, with about six horse, struck out of the way, and retired to Pool. After we had made about three miles of our way, one of my troopers fell from his horse, and the beast running from him, he was in great danger of being destroyed by the enemy, who was in pursuit of us; which being willing to prevent, I took him up behind me; and his horse running along with the company, was taken soon after on the top of the hill very seasonably: for my horse was by that time so far spent with the extraordinary weight, that he could not gallop any longer; but the soldier mounting his own horse, mine soon recovered his wind and strength again.

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gain. Twice or thrice the enemy came up to us, demanding the word; and were as often repulsed to their body. The last time we shot one of their officers; which made them more cautious of approaching us. Many of our horses being spent, I commanded the soldiers to quit them, and to run them through, that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy; advising the men to shift for themselves, either amongst the corn, or in the villages through which we passed: whereby most of them secured themselves; but some were taken by the enemy, and killed in cold blood by one of their officers, after quarter given, and their lives promised to them. At last I came to Salisbury with about thirty horse; where divers persons disaffected to the parliament made a great shout at our coming into the town, rejoicing at our defeat, which they had heard of by some of our company, who had passed through the town about an hour before. From thence I continued my way to a place called *Mutton-bridge*, on one side of which there is a causey about three foot broad, where I made a halt; and ordering my party to continue their retreat towards Southampton, I kept some of those who were the best mounted with me, and made good that pass for some time against the enemy; who, though they followed us as far as White Parish, twenty miles from the place where they first began their pursuit, they took no more of our men after this halt which we put them to: so that with the rest I arrived safe at Southampton. Two days after my coming to Southampton, Col. Norton received advice, that the enemy was preparing to send some forces, in order to beat off those of ours that

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blocked up Basinghouse. He being then before Winchester, and resolving to march with his troop to reinforce the besiegers, desired me with my troop to supply his place at Winchester till his return. Being unwilling to refuse any public service, though my men were already very much harrassed, I marched thither; and that those in the castle might see they were not at liberty to ravage the country, I drew out my troop, and faced them. Upon which they sent out what horse they had to skirmish with us. Amongst whom, observing one Mr. William Neale, who was of my acquaintance, and formerly my school-fellow, I called to him, telling him, that I was sorry to see him there; but since it was so, I offered to exchange a shot with him: and riding up to that purpose, he retreated towards his party; where, making a stand, he called to me to come on; which I did: but he retreated again till he came within the shelter of their foot: and one with him dismounting, fired a musket at me, loaded with a brace of bullets; of which one went into the belly of my horse, the other struck upon my breastplate, within half an inch of the bottom of it. My horse carried me off, but died that night. The necessities of my men being great, and this service not immediately belonging to me, I thought it my duty to return into Wiltshire; where I might expect to be better supplied than in Hampshire, to which county I had no relation. Therefore, sending to Col. Norton to make provision for the service at Winchester, I marched with fourscore horse to Salisbury; which town having triumphed upon our defeat, I thought most proper to supply us with what we wanted: and, to that

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that end, having procured a list of the disaffected in the town, I required them, without delay, to collect amongst themselves 500 l. for the recruiting and paying of my troop, who had not received any pay since they came out. The town made many excuses, and at last prevailed with me to take 200 l.; with which I paid and recruited my troop. And having disposed them in the best manner I could for the service of the country, I went to London to complete my regiment, and to furnish it with arms, and all such things as were necessary.

In the mean time, Sir Francis Dodington had caused the two men that he had taken at Wardour to be hanged, upon pretence that they ran away from him: and having brought some pieces of cannon before Woodhouse, made a breach so considerable in the wall, that the besieged were necessitated to surrender at mercy. But they found very little, for they were presently stripped of all that was good about them. And Sir Francis Dodington, being informed by one Bacon, who was parson of the parish, that one of the prisoners had threatened to stick in his skirts, as he called it, for reading the common prayer, struck the man so many blows upon the head, and with such force, that he broke his skull, and caused him to fall into a swoon; from which he was no sooner recovered, but he was picked out to be one of the twelve which Sir Francis had granted to Sir William St. Leger to be hanged, in lieu of six Irish rebels who had been executed at Warum by Col. Sydenham, in pursuance of an order from the parliament to give them no quarter. These twelve, being most of them clothiers, were

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were hanged upon the same tree. But one of them breaking his halter, desired that what he had suffered might be accepted, or else that he might fight against any two for his life: notwithstanding which, they caused him to be hanged up again; and had proceeded much farther, had not Sir Ralph Hopton sent orders to put a stop to their butcheries.

The King, having ranged about for some time, thought fit to return towards Oxford; and, being joined by some foot from thence, skirmished with Sir William Waller's army at Cropredy bridge; wherein little hurt being done on either side, the King marched into the west, in order to a conjunction with his forces in those parts, commanded by Prince Maurice.

When I first took arms under the parliament in defence of the rights and liberties of my country, I did not think that a work so good and so necessary would have been attended with so great difficulties: but finding, by experience, the strong combination of interests at home and abroad against them, the close conjunction of the Popish and Prelatical parties in opposition to them; what vast numbers depended upon the King for preferments or subsistence; how many of the Nobility and Gentry were contented to serve his arbitrary designs, if they might have leave to insult over such as were of a lower order; and adding to all this, the great corruption of the nation; I became convinced of my former error, and began now more to wonder, that they found so many friends to assist them in their just and lawful undertaking, than I had done before at the opposition they met with. In these thoughts I was every day more confirmed,

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confirmed, by obſerving the ſtrange diviſions amongſt our own party, every one ſtriving to enlarge his own power in a factious and ambitious way, not caring though thereby they obſtructed and ruined the cauſe itſelf. Of this I had ſome experience in my own particular, as well as others of a much greater figure than myſelf. For though my countrymen had, in my abſence, prevailed with the parliament to make me Sheriff of the county of Wilts, and engaged themſelves to raiſe a regiment for me; yet, becauſe I refuſed to deliver up my former commiſſion received from Sir William Waller, and to take a new one from the Earl of Eſſex; though that I had from Sir William obliged me to obey the ſaid Earl as much as one given me immediately from himſelf; thoſe of my countrymen who were of the faction of the Earl of Eſſex, obſtructed me in the raiſing of my regiment, keeping from me thoſe arms that were bought to that end; countenancing my Major, for whom I had procured that employment, againſt me, and detaining our pay from us: ſo that I and my men had nothing to keep us faithful to the cauſe, but our affection to it. Yet we were not wanting to improve every opportunity in the beſt manner we could to the ſervice of the country: for having notice that a garriſon was put into the Lord Sturton's houſe, and another into that of Sir Ralph Hopton at Witham, I marched in the night, firſt to Sturton houſe, which was defended againſt us, till each of us carrying a faggot to one of the gates, wherewith we ſet them on fire, together with one of the rooms of the caſtle; thoſe that kept it, ſlipped out at a back-door, through the garden, into the park, which they did undiſcovered,

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discovered, by reason of the darkness of the night. Having rendered that place untenible, we hastened to Witham; where we found in the park near a hundred cattle belonging to Sir Ralph Hopton, which served for the payment of my soldiers. Those who were within desired to treat, and demanded liberty to return home; which was granted, upon condition to deliver up their arms, and to engage to keep no garrison in that place for the time to come. Being upon my return, I took with me my hangings, pictures, best beds, and other things; which my father's servants had so well concealed, at the first breaking out of the war, in a private part of my house, that they escaped the search of the enemy, who had plundered all they could find, broken all the windows, taken away the leads, and pulled up the boards in most parts of the house. Whilst I was at London, that party which I left in the country, had taken some wool, and other things, from the Lord Cottington, the Lord Arundel, and others, which they sold, and divided the money amongst themselves. From the Lord Cottington's they brought, amongst other things, a horse that had been taken from me before at Wardour castle.

The Lord Fairfax, the Earl of Manchester, and the Scots, besieged York; of which the Earl of Newcastle was Governor, having with him a garrison consisting of six or seven thousand foot, besides horse. After some time spent in the siege, Prince Rupert arrived with about eighteen thousand men, and caused the besiegers to raise the siege; who joining their forces, resolved to observe his motions, and to fight him if they found an occasion; but that they might be a little refreshed

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freſhed and furniſhed with proviſions, whic
they wanted, they marched towards Tadcaſte
If Prince Rupert, who had acquired honour
nough by the relief of York in the view of thre
Generals, could have contented himſelf with i
and retreated, as he might have done, withou
fighting, the reputation he had gained, woul
have cauſed his army to increaſe like the rollin
of a ſnow-ball: but he thinking this nothing
unleſs he might have all, forced his enemies t
a battle, againſt the advice of many of thoſe th
were with him; in which the left wing of th
enemy, charging the right wing of ours, conſiſtin
of Engliſh and Scots, ſo totally routed them, th
the three Generals of the parliament quitted th
field, and fled towards Cavood caſtle. The le
wing of our army, commanded by Col. Cromwe
knowing nothing of this rout, engaged the righ
wing of the enemy, commanded by Prince Ru
pert; who had gained an advantageous piece
ground upon Marſton-moor, and cauſed a batter
to be erected upon it, from which Capt. Walto
Cromwel's ſiſter's ſon, was wounded by a ſho
in the knee. Whereupon Col. Cromwel com
manded two field-pieces to be brought in orde
to annoy the enemy, appointing two regimen
of foot to guard them; who marching to th
purpoſe, were attacked by the foot of the ene
my's right wing, that fired thick upon them fro
the ditches. Upon this both parties ſecondin
their foot, were wholly engaged, who before ha
ſtood only facing each other. The horſe on bot
ſides behaved themſelves with the utmoſt brav
ry; for having diſcharged their piſtols, and flun
them at each others heads, they fell to it wit
their ſwords. The King's party were encour
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ged in this encounter, by seeing the success of their left wing; and the parliament's forces that remained in the field were not discouraged, because they knew it not; both sides eagerly contending for victory: which, after an obstinate dispute, was obtained by Cromwel's brigade; the enemy's right wing being totally routed and flying, as the parliament's had done before, our horse pursuing and killing many of them in their flight. And now the enemy's left wing, who had been conquerors, returned to their former ground, presuming upon an entire victory, and utterly ignorant of what had befallen Prince Rupert; but before they could put themselves into any order, they were charged and entirely defeated by the reserves of Cromwel's brigade. Prince Rupert, upon the routing of the parliament's right wing, concluding all to be his own, had sent letters to the King, to acquaint him with the victory; upon which the bells were rung, and bonfires made at Oxford. Sir Charles Lucas, Maj.-Gen. Porter, Maj.-Gen. Tilyard, with above a hundred officers more, were taken prisoners by the parliament's forces: all the enemy's artillery, great numbers of arms, and a good quantity of ammunition and baggage, fell also into their hands. The Prince's own standard, with the arms of the Palatinate, was likewise taken, with many others both of horse and foot. Fifteen days after this fight, being the 16th of July 1644, the city of York was surrendered to the parliament's forces upon articles. And the Earl of Newcastle, having had some dispute with Prince Rupert before the engagement, wherein some words had passed which the Earl could

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could not well digeſt, ſoon after left England, and the Prince retired to Briſtol.

The Earl of Eſſex was marched with his army into Cornwall; yet to what public end, I could never underſtand; for the enemy there had already diſperſed themſelves. Some ſaid that he was perſuaded to march thither by the Lord Robartes, to give him an opportunity to collect his rents in thoſe parts. Upon this the King drew out what forces he could from Oxford, deſigning to join them with ſome others in the weſt; by which conjunction the parliament apprehending their army under Eſſex to be in danger, ordered Sir William Waller to obſerve the King's motions. But whether the neglect of relieving him at the Devizes, or the affront put upon him, by commanding him to follow the King after he had been ordered to attend the ſervice of the weſt, or what elſe it was that had ſoured him, I cannot ſay; yet viſible it was, that ſo much care and expedition was not uſed in attending the King in his marches as was requiſite. However, Lt-Gen. Middleton, then under Sir William Waller, was ſent with a party of horſe to the aſſiſtance of the Earl of Eſſex; but he kept at ſuch a diſtance from him, that he afforded him little help. Neither was there that diligence as ſhould have been then uſed by the Earl of Eſſex himſelf, to engage the King before his conjunction with the weſtern forces, or to fight them when they were united; they not much, if at all, exceeding ours in number, and in courage and affection to the cauſe engaged in much inferior. But the Earl of Eſſex and the Lord Robartes, having led the army into a corner of Cornwall, betook themſelves to the ſhips with

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which the Earl of Warwick attended the motion of the army. Being thus deserted, the horse broke through the enemy, under the conduct of Sir William Balfour; the foot and train of artillery being left with Maj.-Gen. Skipton about Bodmin; who was forced, about the latter end of September 1644, to make the best terms he could with the enemy for them; agreeing to leave their arms and cannon behind them, and to be conducted into the parliament's quarters, with whatsoever belonged to them. But before the convoy had done with them, they lost most of their cloaths; and in that condition arrived at Portsmouth, where they found their General the Earl of Essex.

The parliament soon caused them to be armed and clothed again; and the horse having forced their way, as before mentioned, the army was speedily recruited, scarce a man having taken arms on the other side. The Earl of Manchester and Sir William Waller were ordered with their forces to draw westward of London, as well to favour the Earl of Essex upon occasion, as to put a stop to the enemy's approach, if he should attempt it. The King marched, as was expected, in great triumph out of the west; Sir William Waller lying about Basingstoke; from whom I received a letter, inviting me to come to their assistance: in order to which, I began my march with some horse and dragoons raised by Maj. Wansey, who had been commanded by the Earl of Essex to continue with me; and on the way received an order from the committee of both kingdoms, to advance towards them with what force I had. We were very well received by them, having with us about five hundred horse; and

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and particularly becauſe they had been under ſome apprehenſions that the enemy had intercepted us, who were indeed poſted on our way; yet we paſſed by them in the night without diſturbance, and came ſafely to our friends. Within a day or two our army advanced towards Newbury, of which place the enemy had poſſeſſed themſelves. The Earl of Eſſex being indiſpoſed, could not attend that ſervice; and therefore the committee of both kingdoms ſent ſome members of their own to take care that all poſſible advantages might be taken againſt the enemy, and to prevent any contention among our friends concerning the command, or any other matters. The river that ran through the town, defended the enemy on the ſouth-ſide of it, ſo that we could not come at them; and on the north-weſt part of it, within cannon-ſhot, lay Dennington caſtle, in which they had placed a garriſon: ſo that we had no other way to the town, but on the north-eaſt of it; where they had raiſed a breaſt-work, and furniſhed ſome houſes that were without it with foot; the ground between that and the river being marſhy, full of ditches, and not paſſable. On the north-ſide of this high-way was a ſtrong ſtone houſe belonging to one Mr. Doleman, having a rampart of earth about it, which was alſo poſſeſſed by the enemy; ſo that little could be done upon them the firſt day, ſave ſkirmiſhing in ſmall parties, as they thought fit to come out to us. On our ſide we had the advantage of a hill, which ſerved in ſome meaſure to cover our men. Here we planted ſome of our field-pieces, and fired upon the enemy; who anſwered us in the like manner from the town. In the afternoon they drew two

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of their guns to the other ſide of the river, and with them fired upon that part of ours that lay on the ſide of the hill, who were much expoſed to that place where their guns were planted. My regiment being that day on the guard, received the greateſt damage; amongſt others my couſin Gabriel Ludlow, who was a Cornet therein, and who had behaved himſelf ſo well in the defence of Wardour caſtle, was killed. He died not immediately after he was ſhot; ſo that having cauſed him to be removed out of the reach of their guns, and procured a chirurgeon to ſearch his wounds, he found his belly broken, and bowels torn, his hip-bone broken all to ſhivers, and the bullet lodged in it: notwithſtanding which he recovered ſome ſenſe, tho' the chirurgeon refuſed to dreſs him, looking on him as a dead man. This accident troubled me exceedingly; he being one who had expreſſed great affection to me, and of whom I had great hopes that he would be uſeful to the public. In this condition he deſired me to kiſs him, and I not preſently doing it, thinking he had talked lightly, he preſſed me again to do him that favour; whereby obſerving him to be ſenſible, I kiſſed him; and ſoon after having recommended his mother, brothers, and ſiſters, to my care, he died. Our enemies having ſecured themſelves, as I mentioned before, we were neceſſitated to divide our army, in order to attack them on the north-weſt ſide of the town, by Denningtон caſtle; where moſt of our foot who engaged the enemy, were of thoſe who had been lately ſtripped by them in Cornwall: which uſage being freſh in their memory, cauſed them to charge with ſuch vigour, that ſome of them ran up to their

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their cannon, and clapped their hats upon the touch-holes of them, falling so furiously upon the enemy, that they were not able to stand before them, but were forced to quit their ground, and run under the shelter of Dennington castle; leaving behind them several pieces of cannon, besides many of their men killed and taken prisoners. Those on our side commanded by the Earl of Manchester, observing the enemy to retreat in that disorderly manner on the other side, thought it their duty to endeavour to force their passage on this; and to that end our horse and foot, with some cannon, were drawn into a bottom, between Doleman's house and the hill, where our guns were first planted. Those at the little houses, and at the breast-work, fired thick upon us: but our foot ran up to the houses, and attacked the enemy so vigorously, that they were forced to retire to their breast-work; between which and Doleman's house our men continued firing about an hour and a half. But finding many to fall, and that there was no probability of doing any good, they retreated, leaving two drakes behind them. Our horse had stood drawn up within a little more than pistol-shot of the enemy's works all the while our foot were engaged, for their encouragement and protection against any horse that should attack them, as also to second them in case they had made way. I had divers men and horse shot, and amongst the rest my own. The night coming on, separated us; when drawing off, I perceived that my Major had secured his troop in the rear of all, having taken care that all the regiment might not be lost in one engagement. In the night the enemy removed their cannon and other

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carriages to Dennington caſtle; where having lodged them, they marched between our two parties towards Oxford. The next morning we drew together, and followed the enemy with our horſe, which was the greateſt body that I ſaw together during the whole courſe of the war, amounting to at leaſt ſeven thouſand horſe and dragoons; but they had got ſo much ground of us, that we could never recover ſight of them, and did not expect to ſee them any more in a body that year: neither had we, as I ſuppoſe, if encouragement had not been given them privately by ſome of our own party. Col. Norton's regiment of horſe, with ſome foot, being left to block up Baſinghouſe, he deſired to have more force aſſigned him for the more effectual carrying on that work, and particularly my regiment of horſe. I was not ignorant of the hardſhip of that ſervice, it not being properly my work, who was raiſed by and for the county of Wilts; yet having received an order to that purpoſe from the General, and ſent my Major with part of the regiment into Wiltſhire for the defence of that country, I reſolved to obey; eſpecially conſidering that the intercourſe between London and the weſt was much interrupted by that garriſon.

The enemy, contrary to all expectation, appeared again in a body near Newbury; where our army lay, who drew out to oppoſe them. Some ſmall ſkirmiſhes happened between them; but a general engagement was oppoſed in a council of war by ſome of the greateſt amongſt us. Whereupon the King, in the face of our army, twice as numerous as his, had time to ſend his artillery from Dennington caſtle towards Oxford,

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Oxford, without any oppoſition, to the aſtoniſhment of all thoſe who wiſhed well to the public. But by this time it was clearly manifeſt, that the Nobility had no further quarrel with the King, than till they could make their terms with him; having, for the moſt part, grounded their diſſatisfactions upon ſome particular affront, or the prevalency of a faction about him. But tho' it ſhould be granted, that their intentions in taking arms were to oblige the King to conſent to redreſs the grievances of the nation; yet if a war of this nature muſt be determined by treaty, and the King left in the exerciſe of the royal authority after the utmoſt violation of the laws, and the greateſt calamities brought upon the people, it doth not appear to me what ſecurity can be given them for the future enjoyment of their rights and privileges; nor with what prudence wiſe men can engage with the parliament, who being by practice at leaſt liable to be diſſolved at pleaſure, are thereby rendered unable to protect themſelves, or ſuch as take up arms under their authority, if, after infinite hardſhips and hazards of their lives and eſtates, they muſt fall under the power of a provoked enemy; who, being once re-eſtabliſhed in his former authority, will never want means to revenge himſelf upon all thoſe who, in defence of the rights and liberties of the nation, adventure to reſiſt him in his illegal and arbitrary proceedings.

In the council of war before mentioned, things were managed with ſuch heat as created great differences between the principal officers of the army; by which this favourable conjuncture was loſt; and the ſeaſon being far advanced, the army was diſperſed into winter-quarters.

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ters. The blockade of Basinghouse was also ordered to be broken up. After which I returned with those under my command into the county of Wilts. In the winter the parliament caused Abingdon to be fortified: of which place Col. Brown was Governor; who holding correspondence with the Lord Digby, then Secretary to the King, promised him, that so soon as he had finished the fortifications, and received all things necessary from the parliament to defend it, he would deliver it to the King: by which means he kept the King's forces from interrupting him till he had perfected the work. But then, as is probable by his carriage since, observing the affairs of the parliament in a better posture than those of the King, he altered his resolution, and, in defiance of the Lord Digby, published the correspondence that had been between them about that matter. The dissatisfaction that arose upon the permission given the King to carry off his artillery, rested not till the house of Commons was made acquainted with it by Col. Cromwel, who commanded under the Earl of Manchester; whom he charged with breach of his trust. But he and his friends endeavoured to lay the blame on others; the Earl of Essex and his party adhering to the Earl of Manchester. Whilst I was before Basing, some of the enemy, under the conduct of Col. Coke, came to Salisbury, and were fortifying the close for the King; of which Maj. Wansey having advice, marched thither with the forces which I had sent into Wiltshire, and falling upon them, caused them to retire in haste: but finding the gates fortified against him, he set fire to them; and, seizing upon all their

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their horſe, took the Colonel and fourſcore more priſoners, and ſent them to Southampton.

At my return into Wiltſhire, I received orders from the committee of both kingdoms, to ſend what men I could ſpare out of my regiment to reinforce a party commanded by Maj.-Gen. Holborn, who was ordered to march into the weſt to the relief of Col. Blake, beſieged by the enemy in Taunton. I drew out 200 horſe for that ſervice; and was neceſſitated to march with them myſelf, my Major who had got poſſeſſion of good quarters at Deane, a houſe belonging to Sir John Evelyn, being not willing to remove. Col. Edward Popham, Col. Starr, Col. Brewin, and Sir Anthony Aſhley, came from London with this party. In our march we were joined by the forces of Dorſetſhire. When we were advanced near the enemy, my troop was ordered to a quarter of which they were in poſſeſſion; but quitted it upon our approach, as they did alſo the ſiege ſoon after, contrary to our expectation. We made uſe of the opportunity, and furniſhed the town with proviſions and all things neceſſary; which being done, the forces of Wilts and Dorſetſhire marched back to the ſaid counties. Being returned to Saliſbury, I was informed, that the enemy had put a garriſon into Langford-houſe, two miles from thence: whereupon I reſolved to fortify the belfrey in the cloſe, where I might keep a ſmall guard to ſecure it for a horſe-quarter; and to that end had ſummoned workmen to perform that work. At night having drawn up my regiment in order to acquaint them with the neceſſity that lay upon them to be more than ordinarily diligent in their duty at that juncture, as alſo to divide their watches

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watches between them, and to appoint the guard for that night, I received an alarm of the enemy's approach, and that they were advanced as far as Amesbury. Of which desiring to have certain information, I sent threescore horse under the command of Capt. Sadler, the only Captain of my regiment then with me, some of them being absent with leave, and others without, to advance towards the enemy, till, by taking prisoners, or some other way, he might get some certain intelligence concerning them, and then to come back to me. With the rest of my men I marched slowly after him; being unwilling to retire into our quarters, till I had made a further discovery concerning the enemy. Capt. Sadler, according to his instructions, marched to Amesbury; and sent me word from thence, that he had advice the enemy was not far off. I sent to him to continue his march, with the same orders as before; myself with the rest of the regiment following. And being come to Nether-Haven, as I think it is called, I received notice from Capt. Sadler, that he had engaged an advanced party of the enemy, and could not get off. Which unexpected news, and contrary to my orders, caused me to advance with all diligence to his relief; who had approached so near their main guard, as to give them an alarm to draw together, and yet had not pursued his charge: which if he had done, he might easily have dispersed the guard, and prevented the rest from coming together. But he having only alarmed them, stood looking upon them whilst they drew up their body; which, when I came up, I perceived to be more numerous than all ours. However, thinking it unfit to shew any backwardness

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backwardneſs at ſuch a time, I advanced with that party that was with me, which was not above one half, the reſt following as faſt as they could, in order to charge the enemy's body. But they, before we came within piſtol-ſhot, faced about, and ran away. Thereupon I divided my men into two parties, giving the command of one of them to one Marſhall, my Major's Lieutenant, the chief officer then with me, except Capt. Sadler; with whoſe conduct the troopers were ſo far diſſatisfied, that they refuſed to follow him. The other party I headed myſelf; and gave orders to both not to purſue farther than the town, where we agreed to rally, falling into it by ſeveral ways. My party halted according to order, after having killed and taken priſoners about thirty of the enemy, with ſeveral of their horſes. But that party commanded by Lieut. Marſhall not obſerving his orders, having purſued the enemy at leaſt two miles, met with other bodies of the enemy's horſe drawn together upon the alarm; who killed and took ſome of ours priſoners, the reſt retreating in a diſorderly manner. At my return to Saliſbury, I commanded all my men to be upon the guard till the morning, without unbridling or unſaddling their horſes. After which I diſpoſed my priſoners into the belfrey, and placed a guard upon them; and having ſet our centinels, I received a letter from Col. Norton, deſiring me to ſend ſome horſe to his aſſiſtance againſt ſome of the King's forces; which as I was reading, one of my centinels brought me word, that the enemy appeared at the town's end. Whereupon I immediately mounted with ſix more, ordering the reſt to make ready; and riding

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riding up by the Three Swans, heard a great noiſe of horſes in the ſtreet that leads into the city from Old Sarum; which cauſed me to return to the market-place; where finding many of the enemy's horſe, I went by the back-ſide of the town-houſe, through a ſtreet called the *Ditch*, to my guard, which was drawn up in the cloſe, but very ſhort of the number I expected: for ſome, contrary to orders, were gone to bed; and others, taking the advantage of the night, had ſtoln away; ſo that thoſe remaining were not much above thirty horſe. Of theſe I ſent ten, under a Cornet, to charge them, myſelf following after with the reſt, and ordering a trumpet to ſound in our rear, as if more were coming on. Paſſing by the chief croſs, where we were forced to march one by one, and entering the market-place, I found the Cornet pickering with the enemy; whom I, with five or ſix of mine, charged on the left flank; ſo that they gave ground, and thereby preſſed ſo hard upon their own men on the right, and they on their file-leaders, that the whole party was ſoon routed, and ran before us. We followed them cloſe in the rear; and though they made many ſhot at me, yet I received no wound in the whole action. About a hundred of them ran through Wincheſter gate to their main body, and about twice that number fled up a ſtreet called *Endleſs-ſtreet*; whom I purſuing, my horſe fell backwards with me, by a check I gave him; but my own men being in my rear, I ſoon recovered on horſeback, and continued the purſuit, till I found the enemy to make a ſtand; the ſtreet, according to its name, being walled up at the farther end, and one of them breaking back

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back upon me, and leaping the brook; but his horſe loſing his feet, threw him down; and he perceiving himſelf to be at my mercy, deſired his life. His horſe I gave to one of my men who had been diſmounted: and, having examined him, I found that he was a Lieutenant-Colonel, his name Middleton, and a Papiſt. He aſſured me, that there were three hundred men in that party which we had routed, three hundred appointed to ſecond them, and three hundred more attending at the town's end as a reſerve; and that the whole body was commanded by Sir Marmaduke Langdale. I acquainted him, that my party being not ſo conſiderable, he might probably be reſcued; and therefore I could not give him quarter, unleſs he would engage himſelf to be a true priſoner: which he did, upon condition that he might be my priſoner; which I promiſed him. And now moſt of my men being diſperſed, I lodged my colours at an honeſt man's houſe of the town; delivering my priſoner and wounded men to the guard in the belfrey, and, with five or ſix, made my retreat through the cloſe by one Mrs. Sadler's, at whoſe houſe I quartered; where I found a boy ſtanding at the door with my ſuit of arms, which I put on. Upon Harnham hill I found a Cornet with about twelve of our men; with whom I reſolved to return, and march after the enemy. But when we came to the belfrey, and were encouraging our little guard to oppoſe the enemy, we diſcovered three of their troops marching into the cloſe from the north-gate, their whole body following them. Whereupon, having commanded the guard to fire upon them, I charged the enemy with as many of my party

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as were willing to follow me, exchanging several shot with them. Their first squadron soon began to give ground: but my guard not firing upon the enemy according to my orders, and it being now grown light, they soon perceived the smalness of our number, and refused to run as before; so that I was forced to retire as fast as I could with my men; one of whom carried away a sword of the enemy which was run through his arm. Before they came to Harnham bridge, they overtook one of my servants, whose name was Stent; who, after he had long defended himself, delivered up his sword upon promise of quarter: after which, contrary to their word, they gave him several cuts on the head; so that about threescore splinters of bones were afterwards taken out of his scull. Being come to the other side of the bridge, I turned and faced the enemy, with one of my pistols in my hand; upon which they halted a little, whereby my men had time to recover almost to the top of Harnham hill. In this posture I stood till the enemy were come within half pistol-shot of me, and then made my retreat. Another of my servants, called Henry Coles, who entered into my father's service two days after I was born, fell also into the enemy's hands, being mortally wounded, and died two or three days after. My groom also was taken by them. Upon the descent of the hill beyond Odstock, I missed the road by reason of the snow, which lying upon the ground, had covered the beaten way; so that I was obliged to cross some plowed lands to get into it again: which while I was doing, one of the enemy came up within shot of me, and calling me by my name, asked if I would take quarter;

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quarter; but as he rid directly upon me, armed with back and breast, I fired a pistol at him, and shot him into the belly: by which wound he fell from his horse, and was carried to the next town; where he died two days after, as one of my troopers afterwards told me, who was taken prisoner near the same place. In Odstock-lane another of the enemy being advanced within musket-shot of me, called me also by name, and desired me to stay and take honourable quarter. I hearing him give good words, thought he had proposed to render himself to me; and therefore stopped my horse, that I might hear him more distinctly: but he, instead of that, made ready his carabine to fire at me; which I perceiving, and sensible of my danger, by reason of the greatness of the enemy's number, made the best of my way towards Fording bridge; where having rested a little, and rallied a party of my horse, I marched with them to Southampton. At that place I endeavoured to procure some force for the relief of those poor men that were left in the belfrey at Salisbury: which as I was doing, I received advice, that, after a vigorous resistance for the most part of that day, the enemy had forced a collier to drive his cart, loaden with charcoal, to the door of the belfrey, (where he lost his life), and with it burnt down the door, which in a day's time we should have secured by a breast-work; but, for want thereof, Lt-Col. Read was forced to yield the place to the enemy upon such terms as he could get; which were, to have their lives, and be prisoners of war. The enemy took here, and in the town, as also of those who pursued them in the night contrary to my or-

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ders, fourſcore priſoners: and had taken more, if they had not received a check upon their firſt arrival in the town by a handful of men; for they had placed guards at the gates of moſt of the greateſt inns in the city; but their party flying, thoſe guards alſo quitted their poſts, whereby many of our men had an opportunity to get off. I was ſlightly wounded on the breaſt with a ſword. My horſe was hurt with a ſhot, and died of it ſoon after. We had about threeſcore of the enemy priſoners at Southampton, taken with Col. Coke. Theſe we exchanged for our men; having engaged to procure elſewhere the diſcharge of as many as we wanted of the number they had of ours, which I made good to them. The moſt ſerviceable of my horſe I ſent towards Portſmouth, to take advantages againſt the enemy as there ſhould be occaſion; remaining with the reſt about Lymington, and Hurſt caſtle, reſolving as ſoon as I could to mount my men again. The enemy hoping to ſurpriſe me in this corner, marched towards me; but failed in their deſign, I being gone to the iſle of Wight to confer with our friends there; whom I found very well diſpoſed to the public ſervice. And being informed, that the enemy deſigned to attempt the garriſon of Chriſt-church, we imbarked ſome men to reinforce them; who being ready to put to ſea, news was brought, that the enemy were beaten off, and ſo ſaved our men that trouble. The Lord Goring having left a conſiderable force in the county of Wilts, marched with his army into Somerſetſhire; where being joined by thoſe who had beſieged Taunton, they ſat down before it again. Col. Maſſey was ſent by the parliament to relieve the place; but finding

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ing his forces not sufficient to that purpose, he durst not attempt it.

The committee of both kingdoms ordered my regiment to lie at Odium, to prevent the excursions of the garrison at Basinghouse; but, after we had been there a few days, my Major, who had more wit than courage or honesty, prevailed with the council of officers to vote our lying there unsafe and unadvisable. I being unwilling to stay contrary to their advice, without an especial order, acquainted the committee of both kingdoms with the result of the council of officers; who approving their reasons, sent me orders to draw off. In obedience to which, I marched into Surrey; and the first night arrived at a place called, as I think, *Godliman*, near Guilford. Sir John Evelyn endeavoured to persuade me to join Lt-Gen. Cromwel, who was ordered into the west; but being engaged to attend our committee about the recruiting of my regiment, I was not willing to stir till that business was effected, that I might not leave so many honest men who had lost their horses in the service, before I had procured some provision to be made for them. The disputes, in the mean time, continued in the two houses concerning the conduct of the army. And though what was objected touching the late miscarriages at the fight of Newbury, and elsewhere, amounted not to a formal charge; yet it so far prevailed with the house of Commons, as to convince them of the necessity of making an alteration in the conduct of the army, in order to bring the war to a conclusion. Which resolution was taken by the house, upon a report made to them by Mr. Zouch Tate, chairman of the committee appointed

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pointed for the reforming of the army; wherein he represented, That they had been endeavouring to obey their orders; but found the condition of the army, as the physician did the blood of his patient, that consulted him about the cure of a slight tumour, when the whole mass of his blood was entirely corrupted; that therefore the committee had ordered him to acquaint the house, that the whole body of their army being infected, nothing would serve for their recovery, less than the entire renewing of their constitution. The house, that they might do it without giving occasion to any sinister reflexions upon themselves, agreed upon a self-denying ordinance; the grounds whereof were expressed to be, the clearing of the parliament from the aspersions cast on them, of prolonging the war, on purpose to gratify each other with places; and neglecting their duty in the house, by holding employments in the army. They therefore enacted, That all members of parliament should surrender the offices they held from them, that they might the better attend their duty in parliament. By this means the Earl of Essex, the Earl of Manchester, and Sir William Waller, were laid aside; the latter rather to shew their impartiality, than from any distrust of him, he having never discovered to that time any inclination to favour the King's cause. Upon this change Sir Thomas Fairfax was voted General, and Philip Skippon Major-General of the foot. A committee was also appointed to consider what number of horse and foot this army should consist of, and who under the General should command them. They agreed also upon the Colonels; some whereof were

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were Scots, as Middleton, Holborn, and others; who, disliking the design, refused to accept of employments. Poyntz was commissionated to command the forces in the north, and Massey those in the west, consisting chiefly of such as had served under Sir William Waller. The committee would have named me for the command of a regiment: but the Gentlemen who served in parliament for the county of Wilts, pretended then that they could not spare me: yet soon after, observing me not fit to promote a faction, and solely applying myself to advance the cause of the public, they combined against me, and procured me to be laid aside, under colour that they stood not in need of more than four troops for the service of the county, of which they offered me the command. And I should not have declined it, had I found my endeavours answered with suitable acceptance; or that they whom I served had been willing the public cause, for which I was ready to sacrifice my life, should prosper. But the contrary being most evident; and though some of the Gentlemen continued to manifest their fidelity to the public, and their affection to me; yet most of them having now espoused another interest, and rejoicing at any loss that fell upon ours, I chose rather to desist, and wait for a better opportunity to improve my talent for the service of the public. My Major, notwithstanding his artifices, being disappointed in his expectation to command these troops, openly pulled off the mask; and with about thirty of his troop, and some strangers, under pretence of beating up a quarter of the enemy, went over to them; having sent his wife before to give them notice of his

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his design. But his Lieutenant, continuing faithful to the public, hindered most part of his troop from following him. Soon after he undertook to raise a regiment in the north parts of Wiltshire for the King. But whilst he was attempting to effect it, an encounter happened between him and some forces of the parliament; wherein being worsted, and endeavouring to save himself, by leaping over a ditch, he fell with his horse into it; and was so bruised with his fall, that he never spoke more; thereby receiving such a recompence as was due to his treachery.

About the same time that the parliament made Sir Thomas Fairfax General of their forces, the King made Prince Rupert General of his, notwithstanding his late ill success at Marston-moor, to the great dissatisfaction of many of his council.

The committee of Wilts divided themselves; one part of them to sit at Malmsbury, and the other to reside about Salisbury: but wanting a place for their security, they put a garrison into Falston-house; and Capt. Edward D'Oyly contending with Maj. William Ludlow for the government thereof, the committee at London gave it to the latter; who with his troop somewhat restrained the excursions of the King's party from their garrison thereabouts. That part of the committee which sat at Malmsbury having some affairs to dispatch at Marlborough, went thither, accompanied by Col. Devereux, Governor of the place. The first night after their arrival, a party of the King's surprised them there; and took some of the committee, with the said Governor, and most of the forces they had with them, prisoners.

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The parliament, though they were not wanting to make all fitting preparations for war; yet neglected no honeſt endeavours to procure peace; aſſuring themſelves, that they ſhould be the better enabled to bear whatſoever might be the event of the war, if they took care to diſcharge their conſciences in that particular; and to manifeſt, that as they had been compelled to it by mere neceſſity, ſo, if it muſt be continued, it ſhould not be through their choice or obſtinacy. To this end it was agreed, that commiſſioners ſhould be ſent from the parliament to treat with others to be ſent from the King about conditions of peace. The place of their meeting was at Uxbridge; where, after the King had owned the two houſes as a parliament, to which he was not without difficulty perſuaded, though he had by an act engaged that they ſhould continue to be a parliament till they diſſolved themſelves; which they had not done; and conſented that his commiſſioners ſhould treat in the ſame quality they were in before the war, the commiſſioners of parliament declining to give them the titles conferred upon them ſince; they made ſome progreſs in the treaty, which began the 13th of January 1645: but the propoſition concerning the Biſhops being rejected, it came to nothing. During the treaty, Mr. Love, one of the chaplains attending the commiſſioners of parliament, preaching before them, averred, That the King was a man of blood; and that it was a vain thing to hope for the bleſſing of God upon any peace to be made with him, till ſatisfaction ſhould be made for the blood that had been ſhed. For theſe words the King's commiſſioners demanded ſatisfaction: but the treaty breaking up, nothing was

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was done in order thereunto. And now both parties renewed the war; Weymouth being seized for the King, and some advantage obtained against the parliament near Pomfret. On the other side, the forces of the parliament surprised the important town of Shrewsbury; whereby the King's correspondence with Wales became much interrupted. They also recovered Weymouth by the help of the garrison of Melcolm-Regis; which is separated from the said town by a small arm of the sea, with a bridge over it; and which was preserved by the industry of the Governor Col. Sydenham.

Col. Cromwel, notwithstanding the self-denying ordinance, was dispensed with by the parliament; and being impowered to command the horse under Sir Thomas Fairfax, he marched with a party of horse and dragoons from Windsor; and, at Islip-bridge, met, fought, and defeated the Queen's regiment of horse, together with the regiments of the Earl of Northampton, the Lord Wilmot, and Col. Palmer; taking 500 horse and 200 foot prisoners, whereof many were officers, and persons of quality. After which he summoned Blechington-house, which was surrendered to him by Col. Windebank, son to the late Secretary of State; who coming to Oxford, was shot to death for so doing. He forced Sir William Vaughan, and Lt-Col. Litleton, with 350 men, into Bampton-bush; where he took them both, and 200 of their men, prisoners, with their arms; sending Col. Fienes after another party, who took 150 horse, three Colonels, and forty private soldiers, prisoners, with their arms: and being reinforced by

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by about 500 foot from Col. Brown, he attempted Faringdon-house, but without success.

Gen. Fairfax, leaving Lt-Gen. Cromwel to block up the King at Oxford, with the body of the army marched westward, with a design to relieve Taunton; but being ordered by the committee of both kingdoms to besiege Oxford, he appointed Col. Welden to relieve that town; which he easily effected, the enemy marching off at his approach, apprehending them to be the whole army marching against them, as they before had been informed. The King sent the Prince of Wales, accompanied with Hyde and Culpeper, into the west, to raise forces; and despising the *new model*, as it was called, because most of the old officers were either omitted by the parliament, or had quitted their commands in the army, judging himself master of the field, marched towards Leicester; and by this time was grown so considerable, that the committee of both kingdoms thought it high time to look after him; and, to that end, commanded the General with the army to march, and observe his motions. But before he could overtake him, the King had made himself master of Leicester by storm, and plundered it, with the loss of about 700 men on his side, and about 100 of the town. Being encouraged with this success, and with the consideration that he was to encounter with an unexperienced enemy, upon advice that our army was in search of him, he advanced towards them; and both armies met in the field of Naseby on the 14th of June 1645. Some days before, one Col. Vermuyden, an old soldier, who commanded a regiment of horse, had laid down his commission; whether

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whether through diffidence of ſucceſs, or what other conſideration, I know not: and, in the beginning of the engagement, Maj.-Gen. Skippon, the only old ſoldier remaining amongſt the chief officers of the army, received a ſhot in the body from one of our own party, as was ſuppoſed, unwillingly; whereby he was in a great meaſure diſabled to perform the duty of his place that day, though extremely deſirous to do it. Under theſe diſcouragements, the horſe upon our left wing were attacked by thoſe of the enemy's right, and beaten back to our cannon; which were in danger of being taken, our foot giving ground alſo: but our right wing being ſtrengthened by thoſe of our left that were rallied by their officers, fell upon the enemy's left wing; and having broken and repulſed them, reſolving to improve the opportunity, charged the main body of the King's army, and, with the aſſiſtance of two or three regiments of our infantry, entirely encompaſſed the enemy's body of foot; who, finding themſelves deſerted by their horſe, threw down their arms, and yielded themſelves priſoners. By this means our horſe were at leiſure to purſue the King, and ſuch as fled with him towards Leiceſter, taking many priſoners in the purſuit; who, with thoſe taken in the field, amounted in all to about 6000; and, amongſt them, ſix Colonels, eight Lieutenant-Colonels, eighteen Majors, ſeventy Captains, eighty Lieutenants, eighty Enſigns, 200 inferior officers, about 140 ſtandards of horſe and foot, the King's footmen and ſervants, and the whole train of artillery and baggage. This victory was obtained with the loſs of a very

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ry few on our side, and not above 3 or 400 of the enemy.

In the pursuit the King's cabinet was taken; and in it many letters of consequence, particularly one from the Lord Digby, advising the King, before any act of hostility on either side, to betake himself to some place of strength, and there to declare against the parliament; by which men perceived, that the design of making war upon the parliament was resolved upon early, the King having followed this counsel exactly.

The parliament had impeached Finch of high treason, for advising the illegal tax of ship-money, soliciting the judges to declare it lawful, and threatening those who refused so to do; for which good service the King had preferred him to be keeper of the great seal: but the place being vacant upon his flight, the King would not intrust it with Littleton, before he had obliged him by an oath to promise to send the seal to the King whensoever he should by any messenger require it of him; which I am inclined to believe to have been the cause why Littleton left the parliament; not daring to stay, after he had, according to his oath, sent the seal to the King by one Mr. Elliot, dispatched to him by the King for that purpose. The seal being thus carried away, the parliament finding justice obstructed through the want of it, declared, that the seal ought to attend them during their sitting; and therefore that all that was or should be done since it was carried to the King, was null and void. Upon which a new seal was ordered to be made; and commissioners nominated for the keeping of it, and putting it in execution to all intents and purposes; the parliament thereby exercising the

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ſupreme authority in virtue of their frequent declarations, "That the King doth nothing in "his perſonal capacity as King, but in his po- "litic capacity according to law; of which the "judges of Weſtminſter-hall are judges in the "intervals of parliament; and during the ſit- "ting of parliament, the two houſes being the "great council both of King and people, are "the ſole judges thereof."

In the King's cabinet were alſo found letters from the Queen, blaming him for owning thoſe at Weſtminſter to be a parliament, and warning him not to do any thing to the prejudice of the Roman Catholics; with a copy of his anſwer, wherein he promiſed his care of the Papiſts, and excuſed his owning the two houſes at Weſtminſter to be a parliament; aſſuring her, that if he could have found two of his mongrel parliament at Oxford, as he called them, of his mind therein, he would never have done it; and that tho' he had done it publicly, the parliament refuſing to treat with him otherwiſe, yet he had given orders to have it entered in the journal of his council, that this, notwithſtanding, ſhould not be of any validity for the enabling them to be a parliament. Another paper was found with them, giving ſome account of the troubles in Ireland; wherein the Papiſts who had taken arms being qualified *rebels*, that term was ſtruck out, and the word *Iriſh* added by the King himſelf. There was likewiſe a letter to the French King, complaining of the unkindneſs and ingratitude of the Queen, and of the reaſons of the removal of her ſervants that ſhe brought over with her; of which it had been diſcretion in the King to have kept no memorials; ſuch matters, when buried

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in oblivion, being next beſt to the not having any differences between ſo near relations. Many more letters there were relating to the public, which were printed with obſervations by order of the parliament; and others of no leſs conſequence ſuppreſſed, as I have been credibly informed, by ſome of thoſe that were intruſted with them, who ſince the King's return have been rewarded for it. One paper I muſt not omit which was here found, being that very paper which contained the principal evidence againſt the Earl of Strafford, and had been, as before mentioned, purloined from the committee appointed by the houſe of Commons to manage the charge againſt him, having theſe words written upon it with the King's own hand, *This paper was delivered to me by George Digby;* tho' he, as well as the reſt of that committee, had ſolemnly proteſted, that he had neither taken that paper away, nor knew what was become of it.

The priſoners and ſtandards taken in the fight, were brought through London to Weſtminſter. The ſtandards were ordered to be hung up in Weſtminſter-hall, and the priſoners were ſecured in the artillery-ground near Tuttlefields; a committee being appointed to conſider how to diſpoſe of them; who permitted thoſe to return home that would give ſecurity for their living peaceably for the future; but ſuch as did not, which was much the greater number, were ſhipped off to ſerve in foreign parts upon conditions. This ſucceſs was aſtoniſhing, being obtained by men of little experience in affairs of this nature, and upon that account deſpiſed by their enemies; yet it proved the deciding battle, the King's party after this time never making any

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conſiderable oppoſition. Leiceſter capitulated two days after, and was ſurrendered; and ſome of our forces beſieged Cheſter, whilſt the Scots did the like to Hereford. The General, Sir Thomas Fairfax, marched with the army to relieve our friends at Taunton, where Col. Welden was beſieged, took Highworth in his march, and diſſipated the club-men, defeated Goring's forces at Lamport, poſſeſſed himſelf of the towns of Bridgwater and Bath by capitulation, and of Sherburn caſtle by ſtorm; Briſtol alſo was ſurrendered after the outworks and fort had been taken by aſſault; with divers other ſucceſſes of leſs importance, and therefore unneceſſary to be mentioned here. Lt-Gen. Cromwel being ſent to reduce ſuch garriſons as were in the way to London, began with the caſtle of Wincheſter, which was delivered to him upon articles. After which he marched to Baſinghouſe, and erected a battery on the eaſt-ſide of it; by which having made a breach, he ſtormed and entered it, putting many of the garriſon to the ſword, and taking the reſt, with the Marquis of Wincheſter, whoſe houſe it was, priſoners. Col. Robert Hammond had been before made priſoner by the Marquis, and was kept here by him in order to ſecure his own life; which he did by putting himſelf under the Colonel's protection, when ours entered the place. It was ſuſpected that Col. Hammond, being related to the Earl of Eſſex, whoſe half-ſiſter was married to the Marquis of Wincheſter, had ſuffered himſelf to be taken priſoner on deſign to ſerve the ſaid Marquis. The next place he attempted, was Langford-houſe near Salisbury; which was yielded in a day or two upon articles. The works about Baſing were

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were levelled, Sherburn caſtle ſlighted; as alſo Falſton-houſe, of which Major Ludlow was Governor, who was removed to undertake the ſame charge at Langford-houſe, wherein the parliament thought fit to keep a garriſon by reaſon of its nearneſs to the enemy.

The King, as well to ſecure himſelf by getting as far from our forces as he could, as to raiſe a new army if poſſible, marched with the horſe that he had left towards North-Wales; hoping in his way to relieve Cheſter, beſieged by Sir William Brereton, and, by his preſence in Wales, to prevail with them to furniſh him with a body of foot. But he found himſelf fruſtrated in both theſe deſigns: for being worſted near Routen-heath by Maj.-Gen. Poyntz, who commanded a brigade of the parliament's in thoſe parts, he ſaw the face of affairs much altered both in North and South Wales. In the laſt of which, though he was entertained civilly by ſome particular perſons, yet the generality of the country, that, during his ſucceſſes, had ſubjected themſelves even ſlaviſhly to his inſtruments, now fearing he might draw the army of the parliament after him, and make their country the ſeat of war, began to murmur againſt him; and drew together a numerous body in the nature of a club-army, whiſpering amongſt themſelves as if they intended to ſeize his perſon, and deliver him to the parliament to make their peace. Which being reported to the King, he thought fit to retire from thence with his forces; only leaving a ſmall garriſon in the caſtle of Cardiff; which, together with the county, was ſoon after reduced to the obedience of the parliament by Col. Pritchard; where Sir John

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Strangwayes was amongſt others taken priſoner; who, by order of the parliament, was ſent up to London, and committed to the Tower. The iſle of Angleſea, and ſuch places of North-Wales as had been held for the King, were ſurrendered to the parliament. But Glamorganſhire, and the parts adjacent, continued not long in their duty, but revolted at the inſtigation of one Mr. Kerne of Winny; who, pretending great fidelity to the parliament, was intruſted by them as their Sheriff for that county; and made uſe of that authority to raiſe the county againſt them, and to beſiege Col. Pritchard, and the reſt of their friends, in the caſtle of Cardiff; who being reduced to ſome neceſſity, had been probably conſtrained to ſurrender it, had not ſpeedy relief been procured from the parliament under the conduct of Col. Kirle of Glouceſterſhire; who falling ſuddenly upon the enemy, routed, and killed many of them.

The King's affairs being in this low condition in England and Wales, he reſolved to try what might be done in Scotland. In order to which, he commands the Lord Digby to march thither with a party of 1600 horſe, and to join the Marquis of Montroſe, then in arms for him in that kingdom. In obedience to the King's order, the Lord Digby marched from Newark; and in his way ſurpriſed about 800 of ours near Sherbon; but was afterwards routed by Col. Copley, who recovered the men and arms taken from ours, killed 40 of the enemy upon the ſpot, took 400 of them priſoners, and about 600 horſes. The Lord Digby's coach and papers were alſo taken. This party was defeated a ſecond time by Sir John Brown, and a third by Col. Bright, who took

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took 200 of them prisoners; the Lord Digby with about 20 more hardly escaping to the Isle of Man, and from thence to Ireland.

At the approach of Sir Thomas Fairfax's army, the enemy raised the siege of Taunton. From thence the General marched to Honiton, and the next day to Colompton; from whence the enemy retired in great disorder. On the 20th of October, the army, though much weakened by hard duty, and the rigour of the season, resolved upon the blockade of Exeter. Carmarthen castle, Monmouth, and divers other places, were surrendered to the parliament. So that the King looking upon the rebels in Ireland as his last refuge, sends orders to the Earl of Ormond, not only to continue the cessation, but to conclude a peace with them, upon condition they would oblige themselves to send over an army to his assistance against the parliament of England. The supreme council of Ireland, as they called themselves, having notice of it, invited the Earl of Ormond to Kilkenny to treat about the same; who, being willing to see his relations and his estate in those parts, as also to expedite that service, accepted their invitation, and marched thither with about 3 or 4000 horse and foot for his guard; which, by the advice of the Lord Mountgarret, and the supreme council, were dispersed into quarters in the villages thereabouts; the Earl of Ormond suspecting nothing, having sent orders to Sir Francis Willoughby, who commanded that party under him, to that purpose. But he being an old and experienced commander, well acquainted with the treachery of that nation, and particularly of those of the Popish religion, knowing how easy it would be for

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for the Iriſh to cut them off in the quarters aſſigned for them, reſolved not to conſent to the diſperſing of his men; and therefore deſired of the Earl of Ormond, that he might quarter with them in the field, or where his Lorſhip ſhould appoint; deſiring, if this would not ſatisfy, he might have liberty to return home; adviſing him not to truſt his perſon with them, notwithſtanding their fair words. My Lord hereupon leaves the care of quartering his men to Sir Francis Willoughby; but reſolves himſelf to ſtay at Kilkenny. Sir Francis draws the troops into Goran, a town five miles from Kilkenny; where he kept his guards with as much caution as if he had been in an enemy's country. The enemy being by this means diſappointed of their deſign to cut off the party by ſurpriſe, reſolved to attempt it by open force. And all the favour that the Earl of Ormond could get amongſt his relations, was, to have notice to ſhift for himſelf; which with much difficulty he did, ſending orders to his forces to march towards Dublin: in which he was very readily obeyed by them, having had advice that the country was riſing upon them; which they did in ſuch numbers, that if Col. Bagnal, Governor of Loughlyn, had not permitted them to paſs the bridge there, they had in all appearance been cut off. When they had recovered their own quarters, they diſcovered a piece of treachery, as Sir Francis Willoughby, who gave me this account, judged it to be, though he knew not on whom to charge it. For they found, that they had not been in a condition to make any oppoſition, if the enemy had fallen upon them; the powder with which they were furniſhed, having no force in it:

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it: which came to be discovered upon the trial of a musket at a mark, by the small report it gave, and the fall of the bullet half way from it. Whereupon searching further into the matter, they found all their store to be of the same sort. The Irish seized upon all the Earl of Ormond's plate, and whatsoever he had with him at Kilkenny; his haste not permitting him to save any thing. By this usage his zeal for the prosecution of the treaty with the rebels became much abated. The King's commission to the Earl of Ormond was not of so large an extent as he was willing to allow, in case the treaty with the Irish came to an effect: and therefore the Earl of Glamorgan, afterwards Earl of Worcester, was impowered by private instructions from him, to promise them the liberty of the Romish religion, with divers other advantages to the Irish rebels: upon which he treated with them. But because this, when it came to be publicly known in England, was highly resented by many even of the King's party; the Lord Digby, who was ordered by the King to assist in that affair, finding that the treaty was not like to take effect, to give a specious colour to the matter, as if Glamorgan had in that particular exceeded his commission, accused him of high treason, and procured him to be imprisoned by the Earl of Ormond. But in letters intercepted from the Lord Glamorgan to his Lady, he desired, that she would not entertain any fears concerning him; for that he doubted not, if he could be admitted to be heard, that he should be able to justify his proceeding, to the confusion of those who had caused his imprisonment.

The English officers and soldiers, provoked by

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by the late treachery of the Iriſh, and apprehending that without aſſiſtance from England they might fall into their hands, would not be ſatisfied unleſs a meſſage were ſent to the parliament to treat about conditions for the putting of Dublin, and the Proteſtant forces of Ireland, into their hands. In order to which, the parliament ſent over commiſſioners to treat with the Earl of Ormond and the council. But though the Earl was not willing that any thing ſhould be concluded at that time; yet Sir Francis Willoughby was, as I have heard him ſay, ſo far convinced of the neceſſity and duty that lay upon them ſo to do, that he promiſed our commiſſioners to preſerve the caſtle of Dublin, of which he was then Governor, for the ſervice of the parliament, whenſoever they ſhould command it.

Montroſe having obtained a victory againſt thoſe whom the Scots had left to preſerve the peace of Scotland, by the means of which he was become maſter of a great part of that kingdom; David Leſley was ſent thither from Hereford with moſt of the Scottiſh horſe, where he defeated the army of Montroſe, and reduced that nation to its former obedience.

After the ſurrender of Briſtol to the forces of the parliament, Prince Rupert, who had been Governor thereof, returned to Oxford; where he found ſo cool a reception from the King by reaſon of the loſs of that place, that Col. Leg, then Governor of Oxford, was turned out of that command for being of his faction, and the government of that city put into the hands of Sir Thomas Glenham. The Prince was for ſome time forbidden to wear a ſword; and though

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though he was soon after restored to that liberty, yet he was never more intrusted with any command. The house of Commons finding their business to increase, and their numbers to diminish by the death of some, and desertion of others to the King at Oxford, ordered the Commissioners of the Seal to issue out writs to such counties, cities, and boroughs, as the house by their particular order should direct, for the election of members to serve in parliament. They ordered also a jewel to be prepared, of the value of about 700 l. to be presented to Sir Thomas Fairfax. It had the house of Commons represented on one side, and the battle of Naseby on the other. Three members of parliament were deputed to carry the present to him. The opportunity of whose guard I took to go into the west without disturbance; which was difficult to do at that time, many of the King's party hovering about the downs, from whence they were called *Col. Downs's men*; who rendering the road unsafe, I procured a guard of twenty or thirty of the county-horse to accompany me during my stay in those parts. So small a number not being sufficient either to defend me, or to make any attempt, I betook myself to Col. Massey's party, commanded at that time by Col. Edward Cook; where I had not been long before an alarm was given, that a party of horse from Oxford had marched by, with a design to relieve Corfe castle, besieged at that time by our forces. But before we could get our men together, they had supriſed part of ours in Warham, and beaten off the guard between that place and the castle; which they relieved with what they could, and were returned back again. In this action

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action a brother of my father's was mortally wounded, taken prisoner by the enemy, and died the next day. Col. Cook was forced to content himself to reinforce the besiegers, and to return to his former station.

The army commanded by Sir Thomas Fairfax, having left a strong party to block up Exeter, advanced westward towards the enemy; and at Bovey Tracy fought the brigade commanded by the Lord Wentworth, took 400 horse, and about 100 foot, prisoners; with six standards, one of which was the King's. Two regiments of ours appeared before Dartmouth, and summoned it. But the garrison being numerous, and furnished with all things necessary, refused to surrender. Upon which the army advancing, possessed themselves of their out-works; and having turned their cannon upon them, two forts, distant about a mile from the town, wherein were thirty four pieces of cannon, and two ships of war that were in the harbour, surrendered; which the Governor understanding, capitulated, and delivered the town upon articles, being permitted to march off himself. But Sir Hugh Pollard, the Earl of Newport, Col. Seymour, four Colonels, with divers others, were to remain prisoners. And a French vessel coming into the harbour, not knowing what had passed, was seized, and letters of consequence found in her from the Queen. The Prince of Wales, who, to countenance their affairs, had the name of General in the western parts, finding their affairs desperate, shipped himself for Scilly; leaving the command of their forces to Sir Ralph Hopton; who was soon after summoned by Gen. Fairfax to lay down his arms. And, after

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after ſeveral meſſages, four commiſſioners on each ſide met at Treſilian bridge, and came to an agreement; the ſubſtance of which was, To deliver up all their arms, artillery and ammunition, except what was excepted by the articles; to be admitted to compound according to the rates fixed by the parliament; and to have liberty granted for ſuch as deſired it to go beyond ſea; which Sir Ralph Hopton and ſome others did. The people of Padſtow ſeized a ſhip coming from Ireland; and perceiving a letter floating in the ſea, took it up, and opening it, found it to be from the Earl of Glamorgan; therein acquainting the King's party, that 6000 Iriſh were ready to be imbarked for their aſſiſtance, and that 4000 more ſhould follow them in a ſhort time. Upon the diſperſion of Sir Ralph Hopton's army, moſt of the forts and tenible places in the weſt procured the beſt conditions they could for themſelves. Hereford was ſurpriſed on the 18th of December, by Col. Birch and Col. Morgan, after it had been beſieged for about two months ineffectually by the Scots. In this place was taken that inveterate enemy to the parliament Serjeant Jenkins, with ſome others. In February following, Byron the Governor of Cheſter ſurrendered that place upon terms.

The beſt friends of the parliament were not without fears what the iſſue of their new elections might be. For though the people durſt not chuſe ſuch as were open enemies to them; yet probably they would ſuch as were moſt likely to be for a peace upon any terms, corruptly preferring the fruition of their eſtates and ſenſual enjoyments before the public intereſt; which

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sort of men were no less dangerous than the other: and therefore honest men in all parts did what they could to promote the election of such as were most hearty for the accomplishment of our deliverance; judging it to be of the highest importance, so to wind up things, that we might not be over-reached by our enemies in a treaty, that had not been able to contend with us in open war. To this end, I endeavoured, that my uncle Mr. Edmund Ludlow might be chosen for the borough of Hinden; where, though he was elected, and returned by the principal burgesses and bailiff, yet the rabble of the town, many of whom lived upon the alms of one Mr. George How, pretending that they had chosen the latter, the Sheriff returned them both. By this means Mr. How got first into the house; but they being informed of the matter of fact, commanded him to withdraw till the cause should be decided by the committee of privileges. Shortly after a writ being issued out for the election of two knights to serve for the county of Wilts, in the room of my father, who died in their service, and of Sir James Thynne, who, contrary to his trust, had deserted to the King at Oxford; the Earl of Pembroke sent to me, and acquainted me, that he understood that the county was inclined to chuse me to serve for one of their knights in parliament; desiring me to endeavour, that his second son, Mr. James Herbert, might be chosen for the other; promising, that though he was young, yet he would undertake he should vote honestly for the commonwealth. I informed him, that I knew nothing of the intentions of the county to elect me; but hoped, that, if they elected his son, he would make good his promise.

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His ſon alſo entered into the like engagement for himſelf. At the day appointed for the election, having had ſeveral invitations ſo to do, I attended, according to cuſtom, and the words of the writ, which require the candidates to be preſent at the place of election. The Earl of Pembroke's friends deſired me to conſent that his ſon might have the firſt voice; which I did, though many of the country Gentlemen were unwilling to permit it; which done, the county was pleaſed to confer the truſt upon me without any oppoſition. Some who were not preſent, took it ill that I ſent not to them to deſire their company: which I excuſed, aſſuring them that I had not ſent to any perſon; having forborn ſo to do, not out of any diſrepect to them, or confidence in my own intereſt, but out of a ſenſe of my own inability to undertake ſo great a charge, as well as out of a deſire to have a clear and unqueſtionable right to an employment of ſuch importance. When I came to the houſe of Commons, I met with Col. Robert Blake, attending to be admitted, being choſen for Taunton; where, having taken the uſual oaths, we went into the houſe together; which I choſe to do, aſſuring myſelf, he having been faithful and active in the public ſervice abroad, that we ſhould be as unanimous in the carrying it on within thoſe doors.

The parliament being ſenſible that the King had corrupted thoſe forces that they had ſent over to ſuppreſs the rebellion in Ireland, and that they had no great aſſurance of the Lord Inchiquin, nominated the Lord Viſc. Liſle, ſon to the Earl of Leiceſter, and a member of the houſe of Commons, to be Lieutenant for Ireland, look-

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ing upon him as the moſt conſiderable perſon of integrity they could think upon. He procured the liberty of Col. Monk, then priſoner in the Tower, upon information that he had good experience in that war, and an intereſt in the ſoldiers there; to which Mr. William Cawley gave his ſingle negative. On the 13th of April 1646, Exeter was delivered to ours upon articles; by which all ſuch as were in the town and garriſon were admittted to compound for their eſtates, paying two years value for the ſame. Barnſtaple, Dunſter caſtle, and Michael's Mount in Cornwall, were alſo ſurrendered. In the laſt of which places the Marquis of Hamilton was priſoner by the King's order, and reſtored to his liberty upon the ſurrender of it; which favour he acknowledged to the members of the houſe of Commons, attending in perſon at their door to that end. The moſt conſiderable body of men remaining in the field for the King, was commanded by Sir Jacob Aſhley; who, being on his march towards Oxford, was attacked by Col. Morgan and Sir William Brereton, at Stow in the Woald; where, after a ſharp diſpute on both ſides, Sir Jacob Aſhley's forces were entirely defeated, many of them killed and wounded, and himſelf taken priſoner. During his confinement he was heard to ſay, That now they had no hopes to prevail but by our diviſions. Which deſerves the more reflexion, becauſe he being well acquainted with the King's ſecrets, was not ignorant, that many amongſt us, who at the beginning appeared moſt forward to engage themſelves, and to invite others to the war againſt the King, finding themſelves diſappointed of thoſe preferments which they expected, or out of

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of some particular disgusts taken, had made conditions with the King, not only for their indemnity, but for places and advancements under him; endeavouring by a treaty, or rather by treachery, to betray what had cost so much blood to obtain. These men, to strengthen their interest, applied themselves to the Presbyterian party; who, jealous of the increase of sectaries, of which the army was reported chiefly to consist, readily joined with them. By which conjunction most of the new-elected members were either men of a neutral spirit, and willing to have peace upon any terms; or such, who though they had engaged against the King, yet finding things tending to a composition with them, resolved to have the benefit of it, and his favour, though with the guilt of all the blood that had been shed in the war upon their heads, in not requiring satisfaction for the same, nor endeavouring to prevent the like for the future; designing at the most only to punish some inferior instruments; whilst the capital offender should not only go free, but his authority be still acknowledged and adored; and so the nation more inslaved than ever, to a power, which, though it destroys the people by thousands, must be accountable to none but God for so doing; whom some persons, as it is apparent by their usage of mankind, either think not to be, or not at all superior to them. Another sort of men there was amongst us, who having acquired estates in the service of the parliament, now adhered to the King's party for the preserving of what they had got; who, together with such as had been discharged from their employments by the reform of the army, or envied their success,

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combined together againſt the commonwealth. This party was encouraged and ſupported upon all occaſions by the Scots, and the city of London. The firſt of them, though they began the war, and though their aſſembly of Miniſters had declared the King guilty of the blood of thouſands of his beſt ſubjects, their covenant engaging them in the preſervation of his perſon ſo far only as might conſiſt with the laws of the land, and liberty of the ſubject; yet having had many good opportunities in England, and hoping for more, ſuppoſing it to be in their power to awe the King to whatſoever they ſhould think fit, they were contented to ſwallow that ocean of blood that had been ſhed, preſſing the parliament by their commiſſioners to conclude upon ſuch terms with the King, as ſhewed them rather advocates, than ſuch as had been enemies to him. The latter having had their treaſure much exhauſted by the war, and their trade long interrupted, beſides the influence the Scots had upon them by the means of their Miniſters, the common council being alſo debauched by Serjeant Glynn, and others of that party in the houſe of Commons, it was not ſo much to be wondered at if they earneſtly ſolicited for a ſpeedy determination of the difference by a treaty. The King alſo perceiving judgment to be given againſt him by that power to which both parties had made their ſolemn appeal, thought it adviſable to make uſe of the fox's ſkin, and, for a time, to lay aſide that of the lion; ſending meſſages to the parliament, to deſire of them a ſafe conduct for his coming to London in honour, freedom, and ſafety, there perſonally to treat with the two houſes about the means of ſettling

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settling a firm and lasting pace: the Scots in the mean time repeating their instances with the parliament, to enter into the consideration of the articles of religion contained in the covenant; to give a speedy peace to his Majesty; to pay them near 200,000 l. which they pretended to be due to them for their arrears; and to make a just estimate of the losses they had sustained by sea and land since the beginning of the war, for want of such supplies as were promised them; which they computed at more than the former sum. The parliament, for divers reasons, thought it not convenient to comply with the King's propositions; and, in answer to the Scots, demanded of them an exact account of what was due to them, requiring them to withdraw their garrisons from such places as they possessed in England. Some differences they had also with the Scots commissioners concerning the exclusion of the King from having any thing to do with the militia, and touching the Scots intermeddling with the government of England, about the education of the King's children, the disbanding of armies, and an act of oblivion. In which matters the parliament of England would not permit the Scots to interpose; and therefore their commissioners acquainted them, that they had not power to consent to any demands of that nature. Whereupon the deputies of Scotland applied themselves to the two houses, demanding that they would enlarge the powers of their commissioners to that end. But there being found in these demands of the Scots some expressions highly reflecting upon the parliament, the two houses declared them to be injurious and scandalous; and ordered them to

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to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. After which they commanded the army to beſiege Oxford; who, in order to that deſign, blocked up Faringdon, Wallingford, and Woodſtock: but, before they could form the ſiege of Oxford, the King eſcaped from thence on the 27th of April 1646. Of which notice being given to the parliament by Col. Rainſborough, who lay before Woodſtock, they ſuſpecting that he deſigned to come to London to raiſe a party againſt them, publiſhed an ordinance, declaring, That whoſoever ſhould harbour or conceal the King's perſon, ſhould be proceeded againſt as a traitor to the commonwealth. Within three or four days they received a meſſage from the Scots army, informing the parliament of the King's coming to them, and pretending to be much ſurpriſed at it; but it appeared afterwards, that this reſolution had been communicated to them before. The King was accompanied in this expedition by one Hudſon, and Mr. Aſhburnham, paſſing as a ſervant to the latter. Upon this notice, the houſe of Commons ſent an order to their commiſſioners in the Scots army, to demand the perſon of the King; judging it unreaſonable, that the Scots army being in their pay, ſhould aſſume the authority to diſpoſe of the King otherwiſe than by their order; reſolving further, that the King ſhould be conducted to the caſtle of Warwick, and that thoſe who came out of Oxford with him, ſhould be brought to London. The next day they commanded their army to advance, in order to hinder the conjunction of the King's forces with the Scots. The King, ſoon after his arrival at the Scots quarters, gave orders for the delivery of

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of Newark into their hands; which having received, they surrendered to the English, and marched with the King to Newcastle: whereof the house of Commons being informed, and that the Earl of Leven, General of the Scots army, had, by proclamation, forbidden his forces to have any communication with the King's party, they desisted from their resolution of advancing their army, and of conducting the King to Warwick; ordering the Scots to keep him for the parliament of England. Mr. Ashburnham was permitted by the Scots to make his escape: but Mr. Hudson was brought to London; and, upon examination at the bar of the house of Commons, confessed some things about the King's journey from Oxford. Commissioners being appointed by the parliament to be sent down to the Scots army in this conjuncture, they made choice of two Lords, of whom the Earl of Pembroke was one, and four of the Commons. In which number Col. Brown the woodmonger being nominated to that employment, he turned about to me, who sat behind him in the house, assuring me that he would be ever true to us. And truly I then believed him, having met him at the beginning of the war in Smithfield buying horses for the service of the parliament; where he spoke very affectionately concerning their undertaking, and served them afterwards very successfully, especially at Abingdon, as I mentioned before. But this wretched man soon discovered the corruption of his nature, and malignity that lay concealed in his heart: for no sooner had the King found out his ambitious temper, and cast some slight favours upon him, giving him a pair of silk stockings with his own hand,

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but his low and abject original and education became so prevalent in him, as to transform him into an agent and spy for the King; proving, as will be hereafter related, one of the bloodiest butchers of the parliament's friends.

The Scots, having the King in their power, pressed him to write to the Earl of Ormond his Lieutenant in Ireland, and to the governors and commanders of places that remained in arms for him, to lay down their arms, and to deliver the said places to such as the parliament of England should appoint to receive them; acquainting him, that otherwise they could not protect him. Submitting to this necessity, he sent orders to that effect; which some obeyed, and others refused to comply with, looking upon him to be under a force. Amongst those who yielded obedience to the King's orders, was Montrose, who disbanded the forces he had left, and went beyond sea. The city of Oxford, having been blocked up for some time, began to capitulate, lest their farther obstinacy should prove prejudicial to them, particularly in the matter of compositions for their estates, the most considerable of the King's party being there. Commissioners were appointed on both sides to treat; and came to an agreement on the 22d of June 1646, upon such terms as the parliament were unwilling to confirm. But whilst they were in debate concerning the articles, they understood that Prince Rupert, and others of the King's party, were marched out of the town in pursuance of them; and that the garrison would be entirely evacuated before they could signify their pleasure to the army. Wherefore, though they did not approve the conditions, yet they thought not fit to do any thing in

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in order to break them. The principal reason given by the army of their proceeding so hastily to a conclusion of the treaty, was, lest the King should make terms with the Scots, and bring their army to the relief of Oxford. Faringdon-house, Wallingford castle, and Woodstock, were surrendered to the parliament; Worcester and Litchfield soon after, as also Pendennis and Ragland castle.

The Scots, by their commissioners, pressed the parliament to send propositions of peace to the King: wherein they were seconded by an insolent address from the Mayor and common council of the city of London; in which, after some acknowledgments of the care and courage of the parliament in the reformation of the church, and preservation of the laws, they desired of them, that such assemblies as were privately held to introduce new sects might be suppressed, lest they should breed disturbances in church and state; that they would hasten the establishment of peace in the three kingdoms; that they would consider the great services of the Scots, and dismiss those who were distinguished by the name of *Independents* from all employments civil and military, esteeming them to be firebands that might endanger the public peace; with other particulars of the same nature. The answer of the parliament to the said address was not much to the satisfaction of the petitioners, being a positive declaration that they resolved to preserve their authority entire to themselves. There was a party in the house of the same temper with the addressers, who earnestly endeavoured to break the army, as the principal obstacle to their designs; pretending the necessity of

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of relieving Ireland; the loss of which, they said, would be infinitely prejudicial to England: and that the way to prevent it was, to send thither some part of the army; who, being united in affection, and of great reputation both for courage and conduct, would strike a terror into the enemy, and undoubtedly accomplish that important work: not forgetting to urge, that the people of England were not able to bear their present burdens, and therefore must be eased. To these pretences it was replied, That it could not consist with the honour or safety of the parliament, to lessen their forces, whilst they had an army of another nation in their bowels; who, though they were united in the same cause and interest with us, yet the best way to continue them so, was, to be in such a posture as might secure us from any fear of their breaking with us; and that the more reputation the army had, the fitter they were to be kept together for that end. After a long debate, the question was put, Whether two regiments of the army should be sent to the relief of Ireland? and it was carried in the negative by one voice only.

The commonwealth-party, taking advantage of the arguments used in the house for the relief of Ireland, and ease of the people of England, procured an order for the disbanding of Col. Massey's brigade, and money to be sent to the Devizes in the county of Wilts; where they were ordered to be drawn together for that purpose. Alderman Allen and myself, who served for that county, were commissionated to see it put in execution. In order to which, we repaired to the Lord General, who lay then at Cornbury, and prevailed with him and Commissary-

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miſſary-General Ireton, with two regiments of horſe, to draw to the Devizes; which we found to be very neceſſary. For though many of that brigade were glad of the opportunity to return home to their ſeveral callings, having taken up arms, and hazarded their lives, purely to ſerve the public; yet divers idle and debauched perſons, eſpecially the foreigners, amongſt them, not knowing how to betake themſelves to any honeſt employment, endeavoured to ſtir up the brigade to a mutiny; but not being able to effect that, ſome of them liſted themſelves to ſerve againſt the rebels in Ireland, under Sir William Fenton, and others, there preſent to receive them; for which we had inſtructions from the parliament; the reſt diſperſed themſelves, and returned home. The forces alſo that ſerved in the north under Maj.-Gen. Poyntz, were ſoon after diſbanded.

The city of London had made it their requeſt in the petition before mentioned, that ſome commiſſioners from them might accompany thoſe from the parliament to the King; but their own party in the houſe, fearing perhaps to be outbid by them, or, it may be, not having quite loſt all ſenſe of honour, rejected that motion with contempt; alledging, that they had their repreſentatives in parliament, and were concluded by what they acted, as well as other men. Upon which Mr. Martin ſaid, That though he could not but agree with what had been affirmed touching their being involved in what their repreſentatives did, and their not ſending commiſſioners as deſired; yet, as to the ſubſtance of what they propoſed, he could not ſo much blame them as others had done; they therein ſhewing them-

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ſelves in the end of the war no leſs prudent, than they had expreſſed themſelves honeſt in the beginning. For as, when the parliament invited them to ſtand by them in the war againſt the King, in defence of their religion, lives, liberties, and eſtates, they did it heartily; and therein ſhewed themſelves good Chriſtians, and true Engliſhmen: ſo now, the war being ended, and the parliament upon making terms with the King, and thinking fit to ſue to him, now their priſoner, for peace, whom they had all incenſed by their reſiſtance; the citizens, having conſiderable eſtates to loſe, ſhewed themſelves prudent men, in endeavouring to procure their pardons as well as others. And though, ſaid he, you will not permit them to ſend as they deſire, they have expreſſed their good-will; which, without doubt, will be well accepted. The commiſſioners of parliament, joining with thoſe who were before with the King, endeavoured to perſuade him to agree to the propoſitions of the parliament; but he diſliking ſeveral things in them, and moſt of all the abolition of Epiſcopacy, to which intereſt he continued obſtinately ſtedfaſt, refuſed his conſent; upon private encouragement from ſome of the Scots and Engliſh to expect more eaſy terms, or to be received without any at all. The parliament, willing to bring this matter to a concluſion, ſent the ſame propoſitions a ſecond time to the King, and deſired the Scots to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to procure his conſent to them. The Scots commiſſioners, eſpecially the Lord Loudon, preſſed the King very earneſtly to comply with them; telling him, that though the propoſitions were higher in ſome particulars than they

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they could have wished, notwithstanding their endeavours to bring them as low as they could, according to their promises; yet, if he continued to reject them, he must not expect to be received in Scotland, whither they must return; and, upon his refusal of the conditions offered, deliver him up to the parliament of England. But whatsoever they or the English could say, making no impression upon the King, the parliament's commissioners returned with a negative from him.

The interposition of the Scots in this affair proving ineffectual, the war being at an end, and such considerable forces altogether unnecessary, the parliament appointed commissioners to confer with those of Scotland concerning such things as remained to be performed by the treaty between them; that the fraternal union might continue, and the Scots depart towards their own country. In order to which, the accounts of their army were adjusted, and a great sum of money agreed to be paid to them at the present, and other sums upon certain days, to their full satisfaction. Maj. Gen. Skippon, with a considerable body of men, carried down the money *in specie* for the payment of the Scots army; which being received by them, they delivered the King into the hands of the parliament's commissioners that attended him there, and began their march for Scotland, having delivered Newcastle to the English, and drawn their men out of Berwick and Carlisle; which two places were agreed not to be garrisoned without the consent of both kingdoms.

About this time, the Earl of Essex, having overheated himself in the chase of a stag in

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Windsor forest, departed this life. His death was a great loss to those of his party; who, to keep up their spirits and credit, procured his funeral to be celebrated with great magnificence at the charge of the public; the Lords and Commons, with a great number of officers and Gentlemen, accompanying him to the grave. In the mean time, I observed, that another party was not idle. For walking one morning with Lt-Gen. Cromwel in Sir Robert Cotton's garden, he inveighed bitterly against them, saying, in a familiar way, to me, "If thy father were alive, "he would let some of them hear what they de- "serve:" adding farther, "That it was a mi- "serable thing to serve a parliament, to whom "let a man be never so faithful, if one pragma- "tical fellow amongst them rise up, and asperse "him, he shall never wipe it off: whereas, "said he, when one serves under a General, he "may do as much service, and yet be free from "all blame and envy." This text, together with the comment that his after actions put upon it, hath since perswaded me, that he had already conceived the design of destroying the civil authority, and setting up of himself; and that he took that opportunity to feel my pulse, whether I were a fit instrument to be employed by him to those ends. But having replied to his discourse, That we ought to perform the duty of our stations, and trust God with our honour, power, and all that is dear to us, not permitting any such considerations to discourage us from the prosecution of our duty; I never heard any more from him upon that point.

Whilst the King was at Newcastle, the President de Bellievre came over into England in the quality

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quality of an Ambassador from the French King, with orders to endeavour a reconciliation between the King and the parliament. He had a favourable audience from the two houses, and their permission to apply himself to the King. But being on his way towards him, upon farther debate, they judged it not fit to subject that affair to the cognisance of any foreign prince, resolving to determine it themselves without the interposition of any; having experienced, that most of the neighbouring states, especially the monarchical, were at the bottom their enemies, and their ambassadors and residents so many spies upon them; as appeared more particularly by letters taken in the King's cabinet after the battle of Naseby; which discovered, that the Emperor's resident in London held a private correspondence with the King; and there was ground to believe, that the Ambassador of Portugal did the like, from letters therein found from that King. These applications to the King, together with the permission granted by the parliament to the Turkey company, to address themselves to him for the commissionating of one whom they had nominated to be their agent with the Grand Signior, under pretence that he would not otherwise be received; to which may be added, the frequent overtures of peace made by the parliament to the King, though he had not a sword left wherewith to oppose them; and the great expectations of the people of his return to the parliament, being informed, that the heads of the Presbyterian party had promised the Scots, upon the delivery of the King, that as soon as they had disbanded the army, they would bring him to London in

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honour and safety: these things, I say, made the people ready to conclude, that though his designs had been wonderfully defeated, his armies beaten out of the field, and himself delivered into the hands of the parliament, against whom he had made a long and bloody war; yet certainly he must be in the right: and that though he was guilty of the blood of many thousands, yet was still unaccountable, in a condition to give pardon, and not in need of receiving any: which made them flock from all parts to see him as he was brought from Newcastle to Holmby, falling down before him, bringing their sick to be touched by him, and courting him as only able to restore to them their peace and settlement.

The party in the house that were betraying the cause of their country, became encouragers of such petitioners as came to them from the city of London, and other places, to that effect: very many of whom had been always for the King's interest; but their estates lying in the parliament's quarters, they secured them by their presence in the house, and at the same time promoted his designs by their votes. There was another sort of men, who were contented to sacrifice all civil liberties to the ambition of the Presbyterian clergy, and to vest them with a power as great or greater than that which had been declared intolerable in the Bishops before. To this end, they encouraged the reduced officers of the Earl of Essex, such as Massey, Waller, Poyntz, and others, to press the parliament for their arrears in a peremptory and seditious manner, that, being furnished with money, they might be enabled to stand by these their patrons

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patrons in whatsoever design they had to carry on. And the better to facilitate the disbanding of the army, which they so much desired, they resolved to draw off a considerable part of them for the service of Ireland; and, to render the work more acceptable, voted Maj.-Gen. Skippon to command them; joining the Earl of Warwick and Sir William Waller in commission with Sir Thomas Fairfax, to draw out such forces as were willing to go, to continue such as should be thought necessary for the security of this nation, and to disband the rest. The army being well informed of the design, began to consult how to prevent it. And though many of the officers were prevailed with to engage, by advancements to higher commands, yet the major part absolutely refused. The commissioners of the parliament having done what they could in prosecution of their instructions, ordered those who had engaged in the Irish service, to draw off from the army, which then lay at Saffron Walden, and about Newmarket, and to be quartered in the way to Ireland: which done, they returned to London with an account of their proceedings.

The parliament being informed of what passed, were highly displeased with the carriage of the army. But the prudence and moderation of Maj.-Gen. Skippon, in his report of that matter to the house, much abated the heat of their resentment. Yet some menacing expressions falling from some of them, Lt.-Gen. Cromwel took the occasion to whisper me in the ear, saying, "These men will never leave till the army pull "them out by the ears." Which expression I should have resented, if the state of our affairs would

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would have permitted. In this conjuncture, five regiments of horse chose their agitators; who agreed upon a petition to the parliament, to desire of them to proceed to settle the affairs of the kingdom, to provide for the arrears of the army, and to declare that they would not disband any of them till these things were done; deputing William Allen, afterwards known by the addition of Adjutant-General, Edward Sexby, afterwards Col. Sexby, and one Philips, to present it; which they did accordingly at the bar of the house of Commons. After the reading of the petition, some of the members moved, that the messengers might be committed to the Tower, and the petition declared seditious. But the house, after a long debate, satisfied themselves to declare, That it did not belong to the soldiery to meddle with civil affairs, nor to prepare or present any petition to the parliament without the advice and consent of their General; to whom they ordered a letter to be sent, to desire for the future his care therein: with which acquainting the three agents, and requiring their conformity thereunto, they dismissed them. But this not satisfying, another petition was carried on throughout the army, much to the same effect; only they observed the order of the parliament, in directing it to their General, desiring him to present it. The house having notice of this combination against them from Col. Edward Harley, one of their members, who had a regiment in the army, expressed themselves highly dissatisfied therewith; and some of them moved, that the petitioners might be declared traitors; alledging, that they were servants, who ought to obey, not capitulate. Others were not wanting,

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who resolved the securing of Lt-Gen. Cromwel, suspecting that he had under-hand given countenance to this design. But he being advertised of it, went that afternoon towards the army; so that they missed of him, and were not willing to shew their teeth, since they could do no more. The debate continued till late in the night: and the sense of the house was, that they should be required to forbear the prosecution of the said petition. But when the house, wearied with long sitting, was grown thin, Mr. Denzil Hollis, taking that opportunity, drew up a resolution upon his knee, declaring the petition to be seditious, and those traitors who should endeavour to promote it after such a day; and promising pardon to all that were concerned therein, if they should desist by the time limited. Some of us, fearing the consequence of these divisions, expressed our dissatisfaction to it, and went out; which gave them occasion to pass two or three very sharp votes against the proceedings of the army. The agitators of the army sensible of their condition, and knowing that they must fall under the mercy of the parliament, unless they could secure themselves from their power by prosecuting what they had begun; and fearing that those who had shewed themselves so forward to close with the King, out of principle, upon any terms, would now, for their own preservation, receive him without any, or rather put themselves under his protection, that they might the better subdue the army, and reduce them to obedience by force; sent a party of horse, under the command of Cornet Joyce, on the 4th of June 1647, with an order in writing, to take the King out of the hands of the commissioners

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of parliament. The Cornet, having placed guards about Holmby-house, sent to acquaint the King with the occasion of his coming; and was admitted into his bedchamber; where, upon promise that the King should be used civilly, and have his servants and other conveniences continued to him, he obtained his consent to go with him. But whilst Cornet Joyce was giving orders concerning the King's removal, the parliament's commissioners took that occasion to discourse with the King, and perswaded him to alter his resolution. Which Joyce perceiving at his return, put the King in mind of his promise; acquainting him, that he was obliged to execute his orders. Whereupon the King told him, that since he had passed his word, he would go with him; and to that end descended the stairs to take horse. The commissioners of the parliament being with him, Col. Brown and Mr. Crew, who were two of them, publicly declared, that the King was forced out of their hands; and so returned, with an account of what had been done, to the parliament.

The King's officers who waited on him, were continued; and the chief officers of the army began publicly to own the design, pretending thereby to keep the private soldiers (for they would no longer be called common soldiers) from running into greater extravagancies and disorders. Col. Francis Russel and others, attending on the King, became soon converted by the splendor of his Majesty; and Sir Robert Pye, a Colonel in the army, supplied the place of an Equerry, riding bare before him when he rode abroad: so that the King began to promise to himself, that his condition was altered for the better,

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ter, and to look upon the Independent interest as more consisting with Episcopacy than the Presbyterian; for that it could subsist under any form, which the other could not do; and therefore largely promised liberty to the Independent party; being fully persuaded how naturally his power would revive upon his restitution to the throne, and how easy it would be for him to break through all such promises and engagements, upon pretence that he was under a force. The principal officers of the army made it so much their business to get the good opinion of the King, that Whalley being sent from them with orders to use all means but constraint to cause him to return to Holmby, and the King refusing, Whalley was contented to bring him to the army. Yet, in the mean time, a charge of high treason was drawn up by the army against eleven members of the house of Commons, who were, Mr. Denzil Hollis, Sir Philip Stapylton, Sir John Clotworthy, Serjeant Glynn, Mr. Anthony Nichols, Mr. Walter Long, Sir William Lewis, Col. Edward Harley, Commissary Copley, Col. Massey, and Sir John Maynard, for betraying the cause of the parliament, endeavouring to break and destroy the army, with other particulars. This charge they accompanied with a declaration, shewing the reasons of what they had done; affirming, that they were obliged by their duty so to do, as they tendered the preservation of the public cause, and securing the good people of England from being a prey to their enemies. The great end of this charge of treason being rather to keep these members from using their power with the parliament in opposition to the proceedings of the army, than from

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from any design to proceed capitally against them, they resolved rather to withdraw themselves voluntarily, than to put the parliament or army to any farther trouble, or their persons to any more hazard. By these means the army, in which there were too many who had no other design but the advancement of themselves, having made the parliament, the Scots, and the city of London, their enemies, thought it convenient to enlarge their concessions to the King; giving his chaplains leave to come to him, and to officiate in their way, which had been denied before. Whilst this design was on foot, I went down to their quarters at Maidenhead, to visit the officers; where Commissary-General Ireton, suspecting that these things might occasion jealousies of them in me and others of their friends in parliament, desired me to be assured of their stedfast adherence to the public interest, and that they intended only to dispense with such things as were not material, in order to quiet the restless spirits of the cavaliers, till they could put themselves into a condition of serving the people effectually. I could not approve of their practices; but many of the chief of them proceeding in the way they had begun, gave out, "that "the intentions of the officers and soldiers in the "army, were to establish his Majesty in his just "rights." The news of this being brought to the Queen and Prince of Wales, who were in France, they dispatched Sir Edward Ford, brother-in-law to Commissary-General Ireton, into England, to sound the designs of the army, and to promote an agreement between the King and them. Soon after which Mr. John Denham was sent over on the like errand. Sir John Berkeley also,

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alſo, upon his return to the Queen from Holland, where he had been ordered to condole the death of the Prince of Orange, came into England by the ſame order, and to the ſame purpoſe. It was in his inſtructions, to endeavour to procure a paſs for Mr. John Aſhburnham, to come over and aſſiſt him in his negotiation; which, with many other particulars relating to this buſineſs, I have ſeen in a manuſcript written by Sir John Berkeley himſelf, and left in the hands of a merchant at Geneva. Being at Dieppe, in order to imbark for England, he met with Mr. William Legge, who was of the bedchamber to the King; and they two came over together into England. They landed at Haſtings; and, being on their way towards London, were met by Sir Allen Appeſley, who had been Lieutenant-Governor to Sir John Berkeley at Exeter; by whom he underſtood, that he was ſent to him from Cromwel, and ſome other officers of the army, with letters and a cypher; as alſo particular inſtructions, to deſire Sir John Berkeley to remember his own diſcourſe at a conference with Col. Lambert, and other officers, upon the ſurrender of Exeter: wherein he had taken notice of the bitter invectives of thoſe of the army againſt the King's perſon; and, preſuming that ſuch diſcourſes were encouraged in order to prepare mens minds to receive an alteration of the government, had ſaid, that it was not only a moſt wicked, but difficult undertaking, if not impoſſible, for a few men, not of the greateſt quality, to introduce a popular government, againſt the King, the Preſbyterians, the Nobility, Gentry, and the genius of the nation, accuſtomed for ſo many ages to a monarchical govern-

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ment: adviſing, that, ſince the Preſbyterians, who had begun the war upon divers ſpecious pretences, were diſcovered to have ſought their own advantages, by which means they had loſt almoſt all their power and credit; the Independent party, who had no particular obligations to the crown, as many of the Preſbyterians had, would make good what the Preſbytery had only pretended to, and reſtore the King and people to their juſt and ancient rights; to which they were obliged both by prudence and intereſt, there being no means under heaven more likely to eſtabliſh themſelves, and to obtain as much truſt and power as ſubjects are capable of: whereas, if they aimed at more, it would be accompanied with a general hatred, and their own deſtruction. He had orders alſo to let him know, that though to this diſcourſe of his they then gave only the hearing; yet they had ſince found by experience, that all, or the moſt part of it, was reaſonable; and that they were reſolved to act accordingly, as might be perceived by what had already paſſed: deſiring, that he would preſent them humbly to the Queen and Prince, and be a ſuitor to them in their names; not to condemn them abſolutely, but to ſuſpend their opinions of them, and their intentions, till their future behaviour had made full proof of their innocence, whereof they had already given ſome teſtimonies to the world: and that, when he had done this office, he would return to England, and be an eye-witneſs of their proceedings. Thus did the army-party endeavour to fortify their intereſt againſt the Preſbyterians; who, though they were very much weakened by the abſence of the eleven members,

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members, yet, not to be altogether wanting to themſelves, paſſed a vote, that the King ſhould be brought to Richmond; whither he was inclined to go, having conceived a diſtruſt of the army, grounded chiefly upon the refuſal of the officers to receive any honours or advantages from him; and would not be diſſuaded from this reſolution, till the army had obliged the parliament to recal their vote. After which he inſiſted upon going to Windſor, much againſt the ſenſe of the army; and could not be prevailed with to paſs by the army in his way thither. This cauſed them to ſuſpect, that he hearkened to ſome ſecret propoſitions from the Preſbyterians, and deſigned to make an abſolute breach between the parliament and the army; which Commiſſary-General Ireton diſcerning, ſaid theſe words to him: "*Sir*, You have an "intention to be arbitrator between the parlia- "ment and us, and we mean to be ſo between "you and the parliament." But the King, finding himſelf courted on all hands, became ſo confident of his own intereſt, as to think himſelf able to turn the ſcale to what ſide ſoever he pleaſed. In this temper Sir John Berkeley found him, when he delivered the Queen's letters to him; which he did, after leave obtained from Cromwel, and a confirmation received from his own mouth of what had been communicated before to him by Sir Allen Appeſley; with this addition, that he thought no man could enjoy his life and eſtate quietly, unleſs the King had his rights; which he ſaid they had already declared to the world in general terms, and would more particularly very ſpeedily; wherein they would compriſe the ſeveral intereſts of the Royaliſts, Preſbyterians,

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and Independents, as far as they were consistent with one another. Sir John Berkeley endeavoured to persuade the King, that it was necessary for him, who was now in the power of the army, to dissemble with them; and proposed, that Mr. Peters might preach before him; that he would converse freely with others of the army, and gain the good opinion of the agitators, whose interest he perceived to be very great amongst them. But this advice made no impression upon the King. He gave him also a relation of what had formerly passed between himself and Cromwel, whom he met near Causum, when the head quarters were at Reading; where Cromwel told him, that he had lately seen the tendereſt sight that ever his eyes beheld, which was, the interview between the King and his children; that he wept plentifully at the remembrance thereof, saying, that never man was so abused as he in his sinister opinion of the King, who, he thought, was the most upright and conscientious of his kingdom; that they of the Independent party had infinite obligations to him, for not consenting to the propositions sent to him at Newcastle, which would have totally ruined them, and which his Majesty's interest seemed to invite him to; concluding with this wish, "That God would be pleased to look upon "him according to the sincerity of his heart to"wards the King." With this relation the King was no more moved than with the rest, firmly believing such expressions to proceed from a necessity that Cromwel and the army had of him; without whom, he said, they could do nothing. And indeed the King was not without reason of that opinion: for some of the principal agitators,

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tors, with whom Sir John Berkeley converſed at Reading, expreſſing to him their jealouſy that Cromwel was not ſincere for the King, deſired of him, that, if he found him falſe, to acquaint them with it; promiſing, that they would endeavour to ſet him right, either with or againſt his will. Maj. Huntington, a creature of Cromwel, and therefore intruſted by him to command the guard about the King, either believing him to be in earneſt in his pretenſions to ſerve the King, or elſe finding the King's affairs in a riſing condition, became one of his confidents; and, by order of the King, brought two general officers to Sir John Berkeley, recommending them to him as perſons upon whom he might rely. Theſe two had frequent conferences with Sir John Berkeley; and aſſured him, that a conjunction with the King was univerſally deſired by the officers and agitators; and that Cromwel and Ireton were great diſſemblers, if they were not real in it: but that the army was ſo bent upon it at preſent, that they durſt not ſhew themſelves otherwiſe; proteſting, that, however things might happen to change, and whatſoever others might do, they would for ever continue faithful to the King. They acquainted him alſo, that propoſals were drawn up by Ireton; wherein Epiſcopacy was not required to be aboliſhed, nor any of the King's party wholly ruined, nor the militia to be taken away from the crown; adviſing, that the King would with all expedition agree to them, there being no aſſurance of the army, which they had obſerved already to have changed more than once. To this end they brought him to Commiſſary-General Ireton; with whom he continued all night

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debating upon the propoſals before mentioned; altering two of the articles, as he ſaith himſelf in the manuſcript, in the moſt material points: but, upon his endeavouring to alter a third, touching the excluſion of ſeven perſons, not mentioned in the papers, from pardon, and the admiſſion of the King's party to ſit in the next parliament, Ireton told him, that there muſt be a diſtinction made between the conquerors and thoſe that had been beaten; and that he himſelf ſhould be afraid of a parliament where the King's party had the major vote: in concluſion, conjuring Sir John Berkeley, as he tendered the King's welfare, to endeavour to procure his conſent to the propoſals, that they might with more confidence be offered to the parliament, and all differences accommodated. Cromwel appeared, in all his conferences with Sir John Berkeley, moſt zealous for a ſpeedy agreement with the King, inſomuch that he ſometimes complained of his ſon Ireton's ſlowneſs in perfecting the propoſals, and his unwillingneſs to come up to his Majeſty's ſenſe: at other times he would wiſh, that Sir John Berkeley would act more frankly, and not tie himſelf up by narrow principles; always affirming, that he doubted the army would not perſiſt in their good intentions towards the King.

During theſe tranſactions, the army marched from about Reading to Bedford, and the King with his uſual guard to Woburn, a houſe belonging to the Earl of Bedford; where the propoſals of the army were brought to him to peruſe, before they were offered to him in public. He was much diſpleaſed with them in general, ſaying, That, if they had any intention to come to an accommodation, they would not impoſe

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impose such conditions on him. To which Sir John Berkeley, who brought them to him, answered, That he should rather suspect they designed to abuse him, if they had demanded less; there being no appearance, that men, who had through so many dangers and difficulties acquired such advantages, would content themselves with less than was contained in the said proposals; and that a crown so near lost was never recovered so easily as this would be, if things were adjusted upon these terms. But the King, being of another opinion, replied, That they could not subsist without him; and that therefore he did not doubt to find them shortly willing to condescend farther; making his chief objections against the three following points. 1. The exclusion of seven persons from pardon. 2. The incapacitating any of his party from being elected members of the next ensuing parliament. 3. That there was nothing mentioned concerning church-government. To the first it was answered, That when the King and the army were agreed, it would not be impossible to make them remit in that point; but if that could not be obtained, yet, when the King was restored to his power, he might easily supply seven persons living beyond the seas in such a manner as to make their banishment supportable. To the second, That the next parliament would be necessitated to lay great burdens upon the people; and that it would be a happiness to the King's party to have no hand therein. To the third, That the law was security enough for the church; and that it was a great point gained, to reduce men who had fought against it, to be wholly silent in the matter. But the King, breaking away from them, said,

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ſaid, "Well, I ſhall ſee them glad ere long to "accept of more equal terms."

About this time Mr. Aſhburnham arrived, to the King's great contentment; and his inſtructions referring to Sir John Berkeley's, which they were to proſecute jointly, Sir John gave him what light he could into the ſtate of affairs. But he ſoon departed from the methods propoſed by Sir John Berkeley; and, entirely complying with the King's humour, declared openly, that, having always uſed the beſt company, he could not converſe with ſuch ſenſeleſs fellows as the agitators; that if the officers could be gained, there was no doubt but they would be able to command their own army; and that he was reſolved to apply himſelf wholly to them. Upon this there grew a great familiarity between him and Whalley, who commanded the guard that waited on the King; and not long after a cloſe correſpondence with Cromwel and Ireton, meſſages daily paſſing from the King to the head quarters. With theſe encouragements, and others from the Preſbyterian party, the Lord Lauderdale and divers of the city of London aſſuring the King that they would oppoſe the army to the death, he ſeemed ſo much elevated, that, when the propoſals were ſent to him, and his concurrence humbly deſired, he, to the great aſtoniſhment, not only of Ireton and the army, but even of his own party, entertained them with very ſharp and bitter language; ſaying, That no man ſhould ſuffer for his ſake; and that he repented him of nothing ſo much, as that he paſſed the bill againſt the Earl of Strafford: which though it muſt be confeſſed to have been an unworthy act in him, all things conſidered;

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dered; yet was it no less imprudent, in that manner, and at that time, to mention it: and that he would have the church established according to law by the proposals. To which those of the army replied, That it was not their work to do it; and that they thought it sufficient for them to wave the point, and they hoped for the King too, he having already consented to the abolition of the Episcopal government in Scotland. The King said, That he hoped God had forgiven him that sin; repeating frequently these or the like words, "You cannot be without me; you will fall to ruin, if I do not "sustain you." This manner of carriage from the King being observed with the utmost amazement by many officers of the army who were present, and at least in appearance were promoters of the agreement; Sir John Berkeley taking notice of it, looked with much wonder upon the King, and stepping to him, said in his ear, "*Sir*, You speak as if you had some secret "strength and power which I do not know of; "and since you have concealed it from me, I "wish you had done it from these men also." Whereupon the King began to recollect himself, and to soften his former discourse. But it was too late: for Col. Rainsborough, who of all the army seemed the least to desire an agreement, having observed these passages, went out from the conference, and hastened to the army, informing them what entertainment their commissioners and proposals had found with the King. Sir John Berkeley, being desirous to allay this heat, demanded of Ireton, and the rest of the officers, what they would do if the King should consent. By whom it was answered, That they would

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would offer them to the parliament for their approbation. The King, having thus bid defiance to the army, thought it neceſſary to bend all his force againſt them, and eſpecially to ſtrengthen their enemies in the parliament. To this end a petition was contrived, to preſs them to a ſpeedy agreement with the King; and preſented in a moſt tumultuous manner, by great numbers of apprentices and rabble, backed and encouraged by many diſmiſſed and diſaffected officers who joined with them. Whilſt the two houſes were in debate what anſwer to give to this inſolent multitude, ſome of them getting to the windows of the houſe of Lords, threw ſtones in upon them, and threatened them with worſe uſage, unleſs they gave them an anſwer to their liking; others knocked at the door of the houſe of Commons, requiring to be admitted. But ſome of us with our ſwords forced them to retire for the preſent; and the houſe reſolved to riſe without giving any anſwer, judging it below them to do any thing by compulſion. Whereupon the Speaker went out of the houſe; but, being in the lobby, was forced back into the chair by the violence of the inſolent rabble; whereof above a thouſand attended without doors, and about forty or fifty were got into the houſe. So that it was thought convenient to give way to their rage. And the Speaker demanding what queſtion they deſired to be put, they anſwered, That the King ſhould be deſired to come to London forthwith. Which queſtion being put, they were aſked again what further they would have; they ſaid, That he ſhould be invited to come with honour, freedom, and ſafety. To both which I gave a loud negative; and ſome of the members

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members as loud an affirmative; rather out of a prudential compliance, than any affection to the design on foot. By these votes, and the coming down of divers well-affected citizens to appease them, the tumult was somewhat allayed; and the members of parliament with their Speaker passed through the multitude safely. The next morning I advised with Sir Arthur Haslerig, and others, what was fittest to be done in this conjuncture; and it was concluded, that we could not sit in parliament, without apparent hazard of our lives, till we had a guard for our defence; it being manifestly the design of the other party, either to drive us away, or to destroy us. Therefore we resolved to betake ourselves to the army for protection, Sir Arthur Haslerig undertaking to persuade the Speaker to go thither; to which he consented with some difficulty: and having caused 1000 l. to be thrown into his coach, went down to the army; which lay then at Windsor, Maindenhead, Colebrook, and the adjacent places. Having acquainted as many of our friends as I could with our resolution to repair to the army, I went down. And the next day, being the same to which the parliament had adjourned themselves, the army rendezvoused upon Hounslow-heath; where those members of parliament, as well Lords as Commons, who could not with safety stay at Westminster, appeared in the head of them; at which the army expressed great joy, declaring themselves resolved to live and die with them. At night, the Earl of Northumberland, the Lord Say, the Lord Wharton, and other Lords; the Speaker and members of the house of Commons aforesaid, with Sir Thomas Fairfax, and many principal officers of the army, met

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met at Sion-houſe, to conſult what was moſt adviſable to do in that juncture; which whilſt they were doing, an account was brought of the proceedings of thoſe at Weſtminſter that day, by the Serjeant of the houſe, who came with his mace, to the no little ſatisfaction of the Speaker. He acquainted them, that the remaining members, being met in the houſe of Commons, had for ſome time attended the coming of their Speaker; but being informed, that he was gone to the army, they had made choice of one Mr. Pelham, a lawyer, and member of the houſe, to be their Speaker: after which they had appointed a committee of Lords and Commons to join with the directors of the militia of London, in order to raiſe forces for the defence of the parliament; the ſucceſs of which attempt they deſired to ſee, before they would declare againſt the army. To this end, Maſſey, Poyntz, Brown, and Sir William Waller, encouraged by the common council, and others, who, by various artifices, had been corrupted, uſed all poſſible diligence to liſt men, and prepare a force to oppoſe the army. But their proceedings therein were much obſtructed by divers honeſt citizens, who importunately ſolicited them to treat with the army; and alſo by the news of the general rendezvous upon Hounſlow-heath.

Though the Lords had been removed from the command of the army, yet it was manifeſt, that their influence there ſtill continued; partly from a deſire of ſome great officers to oblige them, and partly from the ambition of others to be of their number; who, to ſhew their earneſt deſires to ſerve the King, being morally aſſured the parliament and city were likely to be ſhortly

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in the power of the army, who might be induced to take other counsels in relation to the King upon such success, especially considering his late carriage towards them; they sent an express to Sir John Berkeley and Mr. Ashburnham, advising, that since the King would not yield to their proposals, that he would send a kind letter to the army, before it were known that London would submit. Whereupon a letter was prepared immediately: but the King would not sign it, till after three or four debates; which lost one whole day's time. At last, Mr. Ashburnham and Sir John Berkeley going with it, met with messengers from the officers to hasten it: but before they could come to Sion-house, the commissioners from London were arrived, and the letter out of season. For coming after it was known with what difficulty it had been obtained, and that matters were like to be adjusted between the parliament and army, it lost both its grace and efficacy. Notwithstanding all which, the officers, being resolved to do what they could, proposed, whilst the army was in the very act of giving thanks for their success, that they should not be too much elevated therewith, but kept still to their former engagement to the King, and once more solemnly vote the propositions; which was done accordingly.

The face of affairs in the city was at this time very various, according to the different advices they received. For upon the report of the advance of the army, and the taking of some of their scouts, they cried out, *Treat, Treat.* And, at another time, being informed that men listed in great numbers, the word was, *Live and die, Live and die.* But when Southwark had let in

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part of the army, and joined with them, they returned to the former cry of *Treat, Treat.* To which the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and common council, consenting, were ready to admit the army as friends, being not able to oppose them as enemies; and afterwards to attend those members who had retired to the army, being in all about 100, to the parliament. Having resumed our places in the house, as many of the eleven members as had returned to act, immediately withdrew; and Poyntz, with other reduced officers, who had endeavoured to form a body against the army, fled. But we had other difficulties to encounter. For though that vote, by which the petition of the army was declared seditious, and those guilty of treason who should prosecute the same after such a day, was rased out of the journal; yet, by reason that the bulk of the opposite party was left still in the house, the militia of London could not be changed without much difficulty; and some other votes of great consequence could not be altered at all. However, the parliament appointed a committee to inquire into the late force that was put upon them; who having made their report, Sir John Maynard was impeached; and Recorder Glynn, with Mr Clement Walker, and others, imprisoned.

A day or two after the restitution of the parliament, the army marched through the city, without offering the least violence, promising to shew themselves faithful to the public interest. But their actions furnished occasion to suspect them; particularly, their discountenancing the adjutators, who had endured the heat of the day; the free access of all cavaliers to the King at Hampton-court, and the public speeches made for

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for the King by the great officers of the army in a council of war held at Putney; some of that party taking the same liberty in the house of Commons; where one of them publicly said, That he thought God had hitherto blasted our counsels, because we had dealt so severely with the cavaliers. These things caused many in the army, who thought themselves abused and cheated, to complain to the council of adjurators, against the intimacy of Sir John Berkeley and Mr. Ashburnham with the chief officers of the army; affirming, that the doors of Cromwel and Ireton were open to them, when they were shut to those of the army. Cromwel was much offended with these discourses, and acquainted the King's party with them; telling Mr Ashburnham and Sir John Berkeley, that if he were an honest man, he had said enough of the sincerity of his intentions; and if he were not, that nothing was enough: and therefore conjured them, as they tendered the King's service, not to come so frequently to his quarters, but to send privately to him; the suspicion of him being grown so great, that he was afraid to lie in them himself. This had no effect upon Mr. Ashburnham; who said, that he must shew them the necessity of complying with the King, from their own disorders. About three weeks after the army entered London, the Scots prevailed with the parliament to address themselves again to the King; which was performed in the old propositions of Newcastle, some particulars relating to the Scots only excepted. The King advising with some about him concerning this matter, it was concluded to be unsafe for him to close with the enemies of the army whilst he was in it. Where-

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upon the King refuſed the articles, and deſired a perſonal treaty. The officers of the army having ſeen his anſwer before it was ſent, ſeemed much ſatisfied with it; and promiſed to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to procure a perſonal treaty; Cromwel, Ireton, and many of their party in the houſe, preſſing the King's deſires with great earneſtneſs: wherein, contrary to their expectations, they found a vigorous oppoſition from ſuch as had already conceived a jealouſy of their private agreement with the King, and were now confirmed in that opinion; and the ſuſpicions of them grew to be ſo ſtrong, that they were accounted betrayers of the cauſe, and loſt almoſt all their friends in the parliament. The army, that lay then about Putney, were no leſs diſſatisfied with their conduct; of which they were daily informed by thoſe that came to them from London: ſo that the adjutators began to change their diſcourſe, and to complain openly in council, both of the King, and the malignants about him; ſaying, that ſince the King had rejected their propoſals, they were not engaged any further to him, and that they were now to conſult their own ſafety and the public good; that having the power devolved upon them by the deciſion of the ſword, to which both parties had appealed, and being convinced that monarchy was inconſiſtent with the proſperity of the nation, they reſolved to uſe their endeavours to reduce the government of England to the form of a commonwealth. Theſe proceedings ſtruck ſo great a terror into Cromwel and Ireton, that they thought it neceſſary to draw the army to a general rendezvous; pretending to engage them to adhere to their former propoſals to the King; but

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but indeed to bring the army into ſubjection to them and their party, that ſo they might make their bargain by them; deſigning, if they could carry this point at the rendezvous, to diſmiſs the council of adjutators; to divide the army; and to ſend thoſe to the moſt remote places who were moſt oppoſite to them, retaining near them ſuch only as were fit for their purpoſe. This deſign being diſcovered by the adjutators, amongſt whom Col. Rainſborough had the principal intereſt, they uſed all poſſible induſtry to prevent the general muſter, which was appointed to be at Ware; ſuppoſing the ſeparation thereupon intended to be contrary to the agreement made upon taking the King out of the hands of the parliament, and deſtructive to the ends which they thought it their duty to promote.

In the mean time, Cromwel having acquainted the King with his danger, proteſting to him, that it was not in his power to undertake for his ſecurity in the place where he was, aſſuring him of his real ſervice, and deſiring the Lord to deal with him and his according to the ſincerity of his heart towards the King, prepared himſelf to act his part at the general rendezvous. The King, being doubtful what to do in this conjuncture, was adviſed by ſome to go privately to London, and appear in the houſe of Lords. To which it was anſwered, That the army being maſters of the city and parliament, would undoubtedly ſeize the King there; and if there ſhould be any blood ſhed in his defence, he would be accuſed of beginning a new war. Others counſelled him to ſecure his perſon by quitting the kingdom. Againſt which the King objected, That the rendezvous being appointed

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for the next week, he was not willing to quit the army till that was passed; because if the superior officers prevailed, they would be able to make good their engagement; if not, they must apply themselves to him for their own security. The Scots commissioners also, who had been long tampering with him, took hold of this opportunity to persuade him to come to their terms, by augmenting his fears as much as they could. It was also proposed, that he should conceal himself in England: but that was thought unsafe, if not impossible. Some there were who proposed his going to Jersey, which was then kept for him: but the King being told by the Earl of Lanark, that the ships provided by Sir John Berkeley for that purpose had been discovered and seized, though Sir John affirms in his papers that none were provided, that design was laid aside. At last the King resolved to go to the Isle of Wight; being, as is most probable, recommended thither by Cromwel, who, as well as the King, had a good opinion of Col. Hammond the Governor there. To this end, the King sent Mr. William Legge to Sir John Berkeley and Mr. Ashburnham, requiring them to assist him in his escape; and horses were laid at Sutton in Hampshire to that purpose. On the day following, Sir John Berkeley and Mr. Ashburnham waiting with horses, the King with Mr. Legge came out towards the evening; and being mounted, they designed to ride through the forest, having the King for their guide; but they lost the way; so that the night proving dark and stormy, and the ways very bad, they could not reach Sutton before break of day, though they hoped to have been there three hours

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hours before. At Sutton they were informed, that a committee of the county was there sitting by order of the parliament; which when the King heard, he passed by that place, and continued his way towards Southampton, attended only by Mr. Legge, and went to a house of the Earl of Southampton at Titchfield; having sent Sir John Berkeley and Mr. Ashburnham to Col. Hammond, Governor of the Isle of Weight, with a copy of the letter left upon the table in his chamber at Hampton-court, and two other letters which he had lately received, one of them without a name, expressing great fears and apprehensions of the ill intentions of the commonwealth-party against the King; the other from Cromwel, much to the same purpose; with this addition, that, in prosecution thereof, a new guard was designed the next day to be placed about the King, consisting of men of that party. He also sent by them a letter to Col. Hammond; wherein, after he had expressed his distrust of the levelling part of the army, as he termed it, and the necessity lying upon him to provide for his own safety, he assured him, that he did not intend to desert the interest of the army; ordering his two messengers to acquaint him, that of all the army the King had chosen to put himself upon him, whom he knew to be a person of a good extraction; and though engaged against him in the war, yet without any animosity to his person, to which he was informed he had no aversion: that he did not think it fit to surprise him; and therefore had sent the two persons before mentioned, to advertise him of his intentions, and to desire his promise to protect the King and his servants to the best of his power; and if it should happen that he was not

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able to do it, then to oblige himself to leave them in as good a condition as he found them. Being ready to depart with these instructions, Sir John Berkeley said to the King, that, having no knowledge of the Governor, he could not tell whether he might not detain them in the island; and therefore advised, if they returned not the next day, that he would think no more of them, but secure his own escape. Towards evening they arrived at Lymington, but could not pass by reason of a violent storm. The next morning they got over to the island; and went directly to Carisbrook castle, the residence of the Governor; where they were told, that he was gone towards Newport. Upon this notice, they rode after; and having overtaken and acquainted him with their message, he grew pale, and fell into such a trembling, that it was thought he would have fallen from his horse. In this consternation he continued about an hour; breaking out sometimes into passionate and distracted expressions, saying, "O Gentlemen, "you have undone me, in bringing the King "into the island, if at least you have brought "him; and if you have not, I pray let him "not come: for what between my duty to the "King, and gratitude to him upon this fresh "obligation of confidence, and the discharge "of my trust to the army, I shall be confound-"ed." Upon this they took occasion to tell him, that the King intended a favour to him and his posterity, in giving him this opportunity to lay a great obligation upon him, and such as was very consistent with his relation to the army, who had solemnly engaged themselves to the King; but if he thought otherwise, the King would

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would be far from impoſing his perſon upon him. But, ſaid the Governor, if the King ſhould come to any miſchance, what would the army and the King ſay to him that had refuſed to receive him? To which they anſwered, That he had not refuſed him who was not come to him. Then, beginning to ſpeak more calmly, he deſired to know where the King was, and wiſhed that he had abſolutely thrown himſelf upon him; which made the two Gentlemen ſuſpect that the Governor was not for their turn. But Mr. Aſhburnham, fearing what would become of the King if he ſhould be diſcovered before he had gained this point, took the Governor aſide; and, after ſome conference, prevailed with him to declare, That he did believe the King relied on him as a perſon of honour and honeſty; and therefore he did engage himſelf to perform whatſoever could be expected from a perſon ſo qualified. Mr. Aſhburnham replied, I will aſk no more. Then ſaid the Governor, Let us all go to the King, and acquaint him with it. When they came to Cowes caſtle, where a boat lay to carry them over, Col. Hammond took Capt. Baſket the Governor of that caſtle with him, and gave order for a file or two of muſketeers to follow them in another boat. When they came to the Earl of Southampton's houſe, Mr. Aſhburnham, leaving Sir John Berkeley below with Col. Hammond and Capt. Baſket, went up to the King; and having given an account of what had paſſed between the Governor and them, and that he was come with them to make good what he had promiſed; the King, ſtriking his hand upon his breaſt, ſaid, "What! "have you brought Hammond with you? O

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" you have undone me; for I am by this means " made fast from stirring." Mr. Ashburnham then told him, that if he mistrusted Hammond, he would undertake to secure him. To which the King replied, " I understand you well e- " nough. But if I should follow that counsel, " it would be said and believed, that he ventu- " red his life for me, and that I had unworthi- " ly taken it from him:" telling him further, " That it was now too late to think upon any " thing, but going through the way he had for- " ced him upon; wondering how he could " make so great an oversight." At which expression Mr. Ashburnham, having no more to say, wept bitterly. In the mean time, Col. Hammond and Capt. Basket beginning to be impatient of their long attendance below in the court, Sir John Berkeley sent a Gentleman of the Earl of Southampton's to desire that the King and Mr. Ashburnham would remember that they were below. About half an hour after, the King sent for them up; and before Col. Hammond and Capt. Basket had kissed the King's hand, he took Sir John Berkeley aside, and said to him, " Sir John, I hope you are not so pas- " sionate as Jack Ashburnham. Do you think " you have followed my directions?" He answered, " No indeed. But it is not my fault, " as Mr. Ashburnham can tell you, if he please." The King, perceiving that it was now too late to take other measures, received Col. Hammond chearfully; who, having repeated to him what he had promised before, conducted them over to Cowes. The next morning the King went with the Governor to Carisbrook; and on the way thither was met by divers Gentlemen of the island;

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iſland; by whom he underſtood, that the whole iſland was unanimouſly for him, except the Governors of the caſtles, and Col. Hammond's Captains; that Hammond might be eaſily gained, if not more eaſily forced, the caſtle being day and night full of the King's party; and that the King might chuſe his own time of quitting the iſland, having liberty to ride abroad daily. So that not only the King and thoſe that were with him, but alſo his own party, approved of the choice he had made. The King and Mr. Aſhburnham applied themſelves to the Governor with ſo good ſucceſs, that he and thoſe with him ſeemed to deſire nothing more of the King than to ſend a civil meſſage to both houſes, ſignifying his propenſity to peace; which was done accordingly.

No ſooner was the King's eſcape taken notice of by the guards, but Col. Whalley haſtened to the parliament with the letter which the King had left upon his table, ſhewing the reaſons of his withdrawing, and his reſolution not to deſert the intereſt of the army. And though it was viſible that the King made his eſcape by the advice of Cromwel, and therefore in all appearance with the conſent of Whalley; yet he pretended for his excuſe to the parliament, that Mr. Aſhburnham had broken his engagement to him at his firſt coming to Woburn; whereby he had undertaken, that the King ſhould not leave the army without his knowledge and conſent. Upon this advice, the parliament declared it treaſon for any perſon to conceal the King. But the manner of his eſcape being ſoon after diſcovered, and that he had put himſelf into the hands of the Governor of the Iſle of Wight, they ſent

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a meſſenger to the iſland for Mr. Aſhburnham, Sir John Berkeley, and Mr. Legge; but the Governor refuſed to deliver them.

The time for the general rendezvous of the army being now come, the commonwealth-party amongſt them declared to ſtand to their engagement, not to be diſperſed till the things they had demanded were effected, and the government of the nation eſtabliſhed. To make good which reſolution, ſeveral regiments appeared in the field with diſtinguiſhing marks in their hats. But Lt-Gen. Cromwel, not contenting himſelf with his part in an equal government, puffed up by his ſucceſſes to an expectation of greater things, and having driven a bargain with the grandees in the houſe, either to comply with the King, or to ſettle things in a factious way without him, procured a party to ſtand by him in the ſeizing ſome of thoſe who appeared at the rendezvous in oppoſition to his deſigns. To this end, being accompanied with divers officers whom he had preferred, and by that means made his creatures, he rode up to one of the regiments which had the diſtinguiſhing marks, requiring them to take them out: which they not doing, he cauſed ſeveral of them to be ſeized; and then their hearts failing, they yielded obedience to his commands. He ordered one of them to be ſhot dead upon the place; delivering the reſt of thoſe whom he had ſeized, being eleven in number, into the hands of the Marſhal; and having diſperſed the army to their quarters, went to give an account of his proceedings to the parliament. And though when an agreement with the King was carried on by other hands, he could countenance the army in oppoſition

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oppoſition to the parliament; yet, now the bargain for the people's liberty being driven on by himſelf, he oppoſed thoſe who laboured to obſtruct it, pretending his ſo doing to be only in order to keep the army in ſubjection to the parliament; who, being very deſirous to have this ſpirit ſuppreſſed in the army by any means, not only approved what he had done, but gave him the thanks of the houſe for the ſame. Whereunto, though ſingle, I gave as loud a *No* as I could, being fully convinced that he had acted in this manner for no other end but to advance his own paſſion and power into the room of right and reaſon; and took the firſt opportunity to tell him, that the army having taken the power into their hands, as in effect they had done, every drop of blood ſhed in that extraordinary way would be required of them, unleſs the rectitude of their intentions and actions did juſtify them, of which they had need to be very careful.

Whilſt theſe things were doing, the Earl of Ormond finding that the Iriſh uſed him treacherouſly, and that the inclinations of his army tended towards a ſubmiſſion to the parliament of England, invited them to ſend commiſſioners to treat about the ſurrender of Dublin, and the forces commanded by him, into their hands. Which was done; and articles agreed upon, indemnifying all Proteſtants in Ireland for what they had done there, unleſs they had been in the rebellion during the firſt year; and admitting them to compound for their eſtates in England at two years value. A certain ſum was alſo promiſed to be paid to the Earl of Ormond, in conſideration of what he had deburſed for the

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army. This agreement being concluded, the city of Dublin, and the forces before mentioned, were delivered to Col. Michael Jones, who was ordered by the parliament to receive them; and the Earl of Ormond came to London, where his money was paid him; and he soon after retired into France.

The chief officers of the army having subdued those of their body who upon just suspicion had opposed their treaty with the King, thought themselves obliged by their former engagement to press for a personal treaty with him; which they procured to be offered, in case he would grant four preliminary bills. The first of which contained the revocation of all proclamations against the parliament; the second, to make void all such titles of honour as had been granted by the King since he had left the parliament; and that for the future none should be conferred on any person without the consent of parliament: the third was a bill to except some persons from pardon: and the fourth, for investing the militia in the two houses. All which those who thought it reasonable and necessary to proceed judicially with him, were afraid he would grant; it being visible, that had he been restored to the throne upon any terms, he might easily have gratified his friends, and revenged himself upon all his enemies. Col. Hammond and Mr. Ashburnham had frequent conferences with the King; who had made such promises to the Colonel, that he declared himself extremely desirous that the army might resume their power, and clear themselves of the adjutators, whose authority he said he had never approved. To this end, he sent one Mr. Traughton, his chaplain, to the army,

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to perſuade them to make uſe of their ſucceſs againſt the adjutators; and two or three days after earneſtly moved the King to ſend ſome of thoſe about him to the army, with letters of compliment to the General, and others of greater confidence to Cromwel and Ireton, promiſing to write to them himſelf, which he did; conjuring them by their engagements, their honour and conſcience, to come to a ſpeedy agreement with the King, and not to expoſe themſelves to the fantaſtic giddineſs of the adjutators. Sir John Berkeley was made choice of for this employment; who, taking Mr. Henry Berkeley his couſin-german with him, departed from the iſland with a paſs from the Governor of Cowes; and, being on his way, met Mr. Traughton on his return, between Bagſhot and Windſor; who acquainted him, that he had no good news to carry back to the King, the army having taken new reſolutions touching his perſon. Being gone a little farther, he was met by Cornet Joyce, who told him, that he was aſtoniſhed at his deſign of going to the army; acquainting him, that it had been debated amongſt the adjutators, Whether, in juſtification of themſelves, the King ſhould be brought to a trial? of which opinion he declared himſelf to be; not out of any ill-will, as he ſaid, to the King's perſon, but that the guilt of the war might be charged upon thoſe that had cauſed it. About an hour after his arrival at Windſor, Sir John Berkeley went to the General's quarters, where he found the officers of the army aſſembled: and, being admitted, delivered his letters to the General; who, having received them, ordered him to withdraw. After he had attended about half an hour, he

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was called in again, and told by the General, with some severity on his face, that they were the parliament's army, and therefore could say nothing to the King's motion about peace; but must refer those matters, and the King's letters, to their consideration. Then Sir John looked upon Cromwel, Ireton, and the rest of his acquaintance; who saluted him very coldly, shewing him Hammond's letter to them, and smiling with disdain upon it. Being thus disappointed, he went to his lodging; and staid there from four till six of the clock, without any company, to his great dissatisfaction. At last, he sent out his servant, with orders to find out, if possible, some of his acquaintance; who met with one that was a general officer, by whom he was ordered to tell his master, that he would meet him at midnight in a close behind the Garter-inn. At the time and place appointed they met; where the officer acquainted him in general, that he had no good news to communicate to him; and then descending to particulars, said, "You "know that I and my friends engaged our- "selves to you: that we were zealous for an "agreement; and if the rest were not so, we "were abused: that, since the tumults in the "army, we did mistrust Cromwel and Ireton, "whereof I informed you. I come now to tell "you, that we mistrust neither; and that we "are resolved, notwithstanding our engage- "ment, to destroy the King and his posterity. "To which end Ireton has made two propos- "tions this afternoon: one, That you should "be sent prisoner to London; the other, That "none should speak with you upon pain of "death; and I do now hazard my life by doing "it.

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" it. The way designed to ruin the King, is, " to send 800 of the most disaffected in the ar- " my to secure his person, and then to bring " him to a trial; and I dare think no farther. " This will be done in ten days; and there- " fore, if the King can escape, let him do it, " as he loves his life." Sir John then asking the reason of this change, seeing the King had done all things in compliance with the army, and that the officers were become superior since the last rendezvous; he replied, That he could not certainly tell; but conceived the ground of it to be, that though one of the mutineers, as he called him, was shot to death, eleven more made prisoners, and the rest in appearance overawed; yet they were so far from being so indeed, that two thirds of the army had been since with Cromwel and Ireton, to tell them, That though they were certain to perish in the enterprize, they would leave nothing unattempted to bring the whole army to their sense; and that, if all failed, they would make a division in the army, and join with any who would assist them in the destruction of those that should oppose them: that Cromwel and Ireton argued thus: If the army divide, the greatest part will join with the Presbyters, and will, in all likelihood, prevail, to our ruin, by forcing us to make our applications to the King, wherein we shall rather beg than offer any assistance; which if the King shall give, and afterwards have the good fortune to prevail, if he shall then pardon us, it will be all we can pretend, and more than we can certainly promise to ourselves; thereupon concluding, that, if they could not bring the army to their sense, that it was best to comply with them, a schism being ut-

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nerly deſtructive to both. In purſuance of this reſolution, Cromwel bent all his thoughts to make his peace with the party that was moſt oppoſite to the King; acknowledging, as he knew well how to do on ſuch occaſions, that the glory of this world had ſo dazzled his eyes, that he could not diſcern clearly the great works that the Lord was doing. He ſent alſo comfortable meſſages to the priſoners that he had ſeized at the general rendezvous, with aſſurances that nothing ſhould be done to their prejudice. And by theſe and the like arts he perfected his reconciliation. For my own part, I am inclined to believe, that his ſon Ireton never intended to cloſe with the King, but only to lay his party aſleep, whilſt they were conteſting with the Preſbyterian intereſt in parliament. And now having ſecured themſelves of the city, and perſuaded the King to deny the propoſitions of the parliament, ſubdued the army, and freed themſelves from the importunity of the King and his party, they became willing to quit their hands of him, ſince their tranſactions with him had procured them ſo much oppoſition; and to leave the breach with him upon the parliament; where they found the Preſbyterian party averſe to an agreement with him upon any propoſals of the army, and the commonwealth-party reſolved not to treat with him upon any at all.

Sir John Berkeley being returned to his lodging, diſpatched his couſin Henry Berkeley to the Iſle of Wight with two letters; one to the Governor, containing a general relation, and doubtful judgment of things in the army; another in cypher, with a particular account of the foreſaid conference, and a moſt paſſionate ſupplication to the

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the King to meditate nothing but his immediate escape. The next morning he sent Col. Cooke to Cromwel, to let him know, that he had letters and instructions to him from the King; who returned, in answer, by the messenger, that he durst not see him, it being very dangerous to them both; bidding him be assured, that he would serve the King as long as he could do it without his own ruin; but desired that it might not be expected, that he should perish for his sake. Having received this answer, Sir John took horse for London, resolving not to acquaint any with the inclinations of the army, or with the King's intended escape, which he presumed would be in a few days, the Queen having sent a ship to that purpose, and pressed it earnestly in her letters. The next day after his arrival at London, he received a message from the Scots Lords Lanark and Lauderdale, desiring a meeting with him, presuming he had a commission from the King to treat: but he acquainting them, that the King had said at his parting from him, that he would make good whatsoever he should undertake to any person in his name; the Lord Lanark replied, he would ask no other commission from him. At their second meeting they came near to an agreement, and resolved to conclude on the Monday following. But the next day Sir John Berkeley receiving a letter from Mr. Ashburnham, requiring him in the King's name to lay aside all other business, and to return immediately to the King, was constrained to go out of town that night, and to leave the treaty unfinished, to the great dissatisfaction of both parties. At his return to the island he found the King determined not to attempt

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tempt his escape till he had concluded with the Scots; who, he said, being very desirous to have him out of the hands of the army, would on that account come to an accommodation upon reasonable conditions: whereas, if he should leave the army before any agreement with the Scots, they would never treat with him but upon their own terms. To this end, the King ordered Sir John Berkeley, Mr. Ashburnham, Dr. Hammond, and Mr. Legge, to review the papers relating to the treaty with the Scots, which had been managed in London chiefly by Dr. Gough, a Popish priest; who, in the Queen's name, had conjured the King to make his speedy escape, and in his own beseeched him not to insist too nicely upon terms in the present exigency of his affairs. But Mr. Ashburnham hesitated much upon many expressions in the articles relating to the covenant, and church of England, of which he was a zealous professor, making many replies and alterations; and at last insisted, that the King would send for the Scots commissioners to come to him. Accordingly Sir William Fleming was sent to that purpose. And the next day after an express came from the said commissioners to the King, desiring that two papers might be drawn, the one to contain the least he would be contented with, and the other the utmost that he would grant to the Scots; which last they desired he would sign, promising to do the like to the first, and to deliver it to Dr. Gough upon the reception of his paper so signed. But this matter was delayed so long, that they concluded the Scots commissioners would be on their way before another express could be gone out of the island. At the same time that the Scots were coming

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coming to the King, commissioners were also sent to him by the parliament, with offers of a personal treaty, on condition that the King, in testimony of his future sincerity, would grant the four preliminary bills formerly mentioned. Whilst these two sorts of commissioners were one day attending the King, as he walked about the castle, they observed him to throw a bone before two spaniels that followed him, and to take great delight in seeing them contesting for it; which some of them thought to be intended by him to represent that bone of contention he had cast between the two parties. It was proposed by some of his party, that the King should give a dilatory answer to the Scots, that he might have the better opportunity to escape; and at the same time it was moved, that he should offer the four following bills to the parliament, upon presumption that they could not well refuse them, nor durst grant them. The first was for the payment of the army, and for their disbanding as soon as paid: the second, to put a period to the present parliament: the third, to restore the King and Queen to the possession of their revenues: the fourth, to settle a church-government without any coercive power; and, till such a government were agreed on, the present to continue without any coercive authority. This they advised upon apprehensions, if the King should give a positive denial, that the commissioners might have orders to injoin the Governor to keep a stricter guard over his person, and thereby his designed escape be prevented. To this advice the King replied, That he had found out a remedy against their fears; which was, to deliver his answer to the commissioners sealed up. The

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next day after the Engliſh commiſſioners had delivered their meſſage, and deſired the King's anſwer within three or four days, the commiſſioners of Scotland, Loudon, Lanark, Lauderdale, and others, delivered a proteſtation to the King, ſubſcribed by them, againſt the parliament's meſſage, affirming it to be contrary to the covenant, being ſent without their participation or conſent; and from this time began ſeriouſly to treat with the King, concluding at laſt upon ſuch terms as they could obtain, rather than ſuch as they deſired from him. When the time to receive the King's anſwer was come, he ſent for the Engliſh commiſſioners: and, before he delivered his anſwer, demanded of the Earl of Denbigh, who was the principal commiſſioner, whether they had power to alter any of the ſubſtantial or circumſtantial parts of the meſſage; and they replying, That they had not; he delivered his anſwer ſealed up into the hands of the Earl of Denbigh. Having received the King's anſwer, the commiſſioners withdrew for a little time; and, being returned, the Earl of Denbigh ſeemed to be offended, that the King had delivered his meſſage ſealed; alledging, that they were required by their inſtructions to bring his anſwer, which, whether his letter were or no, they could not know, unleſs they might ſee it; ſaying, that he had been his ambaſſador, and in that employment would never have delivered any letter without a preceeding ſight of it. The King told him, That he had employed twenty ambaſſadors, and that none of them had ever dared to open his letters: but having demanded, whether what the Earl of Denbigh had ſaid were the ſenſe of them all, and finding it ſo to be,

" Well

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" Well then, (ſaid the King), I will ſhew it you, " on condition you will promiſe not to acquaint " any one with the ſubſtance of it, before you " have delivered it to the parliament;" which they conſenting to, he deſired the company might withdraw. The commiſſioners propoſed, that the Governor, Col. Hammond, might be permitted to ſtay; which the King being unwilling to allow, yet not thinking it convenient to refuſe, gave way to; and by this means the Governor, as well as the commiſſioners, came to underſtand, that the King had waved the intereſts both of the parliament and army, to cloſe with the Scots; the ſubſtance of his letter being an abſolute refuſal of his conſent to the four bills preſented to him. The impreſſion which the diſcovery of theſe things made upon the Governor was ſo great, that, before he departed from Cariſbrook, to accompany the parliament's commiſſioners to Newport, he gave orders for a ſtrict guard to be kept in his abſence; and, at his return, commanded the gates to be locked up, and the guards to be doubled, ſitting up himſelf with them all night; whereby the King's intended eſcape was obſtructed. The next morning he ordered the King's ſervants to remove, not excepting Dr. Hammond his own kinſman; who, taking leave of the King, acquainted him, that they had left the Captain of the frigat, and two truſty Gentlemen of the iſland, to aſſiſt him in his eſcape, aſſuring him that they would have all things in readineſs on the other ſide of the water to receive him. At their departure the King commanded them to draw up a declaration, and ſend it to him the next morning to ſign; which they did, and it was afterwards publiſhed in the King's

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King's name. When they came to Newport, one Capt. Burleigh cauſed a drum to beat, to draw people together in order to reſcue the King: but there were few, beſides women and children, that followed him, having but one muſket amongſt them all; ſo that the King's ſervants thought not fit to join with or encourage them; but went over to the other ſide, where they continued about three weeks expecting the King's arrival; leaving Capt. Burleigh, who, with divers of his followers, was committed to jail. Upon the return of the King's negative to the four previous bills before mentioned, the parliament voted, "That no farther addreſſes "ſhould be made to the King by themſelves, or "any other perſon, without the leave of both "houſes; and that if any preſumed ſo to do, "they ſhould incur the guilt of high treaſon." They alſo publiſhed a declaration, prepared by Col. Nathanael Fienes, ſhewing the reaſons of their ſaid reſolutions; wherein, amongſt other miſcarriages of the King's reign, was repreſented his breaking of parliaments, the betraying of Rochelle, his refuſal to ſuffer any inquiry to be made into the death of his father, his levying war againſt the people of England, and his rejecting all reaſonable offers of accommodation, after ſix ſeveral applications to him on their part. Col. Rainſborough was appointed Admiral of the fleet; and Mr. Holland, myſelf, and another member of the houſe of Commons, ſent down to the head quarters at Windſor, with orders to diſcharge from cuſtody Capt. Reynolds, and ſome others called in deriſion *levellers*, who had been impriſoned by the army for attempting to bring about that which they themſelves were now doing;

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ing; and to exhort the officers to contribute the beſt of their endeavours towards a ſpeedy ſettlement.

The Scots, in purſuance of their treaty with the King, made what preparations they could to raiſe an army; wherein the Preſbyterians and cavaliers joined, though with different deſigns. The ſame ſpirit began to appear alſo in England; many of our ſhips revolting to the King, at the inſtigation of one Capt. Batten, who had been Vice-Admiral to the parliament, and others, encouraged by the city and the Preſbyterian party. The ſeamen on board the ſhip commanded by Col. Rainſborough, refuſed to receive him; having before-hand ſecured one of my brothers, with others, whom they ſuſpected to be faithful to their commander. The Earl of Warwick, as moſt acceptable to them, was appointed to go down to reduce them to obedience; by which means part of the fleet was preſerved to the parliament, who immediately iſſued out orders for the fitting out of more ſhips to reinforce them. With the revolted ſhips Prince Charles blocked up the mouth of the river; and, about the ſame time, his brother the Duke of York, who, upon the ſurrender of Oxford, had been brought by order of the parliament to St. James's, and proviſion made for him there, eſcaped from thence to ſerve the King's deſigns. The caſtles of Deal and Sandwich declared alſo for the King; and Col. Rich was ſent with a party of the army to reduce them. In the mean time, Lt-Gen. Cromwel, not forgetting himſelf, procured a meeting of divers leading men amongſt the Preſbyterians and Independents, both members of parliament and Miniſters,

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niſters, at a dinner in Weſtminſter, under pretence of endeavouring a reconciliation between the two parties. But he found it a work too difficult for him to compoſe the differences between theſe two eccleſiaſtical intereſts; one of which would endure no ſuperior, the other no equal: ſo that this meeting produced no effect. Another conference he contrived to be held in King-ſtreet, between thoſe called the grandees of the houſe and army, and the commonwealth's men; in which the grandees, of whom Lt-Gen. Cromwel was the head, kept themſelves in the clouds, and would not declare their judgments either for a monarchical, ariſtocratical, or democratical government; maintaining, that any of them might be good in themſelves, or for us, according as Providence ſhould direct us. The commonwealth's men declared, that monarchy was neither good in itſelf, nor for us. That it was not deſirable in itſelf, they urged from the 8th chapter and 8th verſe of the 1ſt book of *Samuel*; where the rejecting of the judges, and the choice of a King, was charged upon the Iſraelites by God himſelf as a rejection of him; and from another paſſage in the ſame book, where Samuel declares it to be a great wickedneſs; with divers more texts of ſcripture to the ſame effect. And that it was no way conducing to the intereſt of this nation, was endeavoured to be proved by the infinite miſchiefs and oppreſſions we had ſuffered under it, and by it: that indeed our anceſtors had conſented to be governed by a ſingle perſon, but with this proviſo, That he ſhould govern according to the direction of the law; which he always bound himſelf by oath to perform: that the King had broken this oath, and thereby

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thereby diſſolved our allegiance; protection and obedience being reciprocal: that having appealed to the ſword for the deciſion of the things in diſpute, and thereby cauſed the effuſion of a deluge of the people's blood, it ſeemed to be a duty incumbent upon the repreſentatives of the people, to call him to an account for the ſame; more eſpecially ſince the controverſy was determined by the ſame means which he had choſen; and then to proceed to the eſtabliſhment of an equal commonwealth, founded upon the conſent of the people, and providing for the rights and liberties of all men, that we might have the hearts and hands of the nation to ſupport it, as being moſt juſt, and in all reſpects moſt conducing to the happineſs and proſperity thereof. Notwithſtanding what was ſaid, Lt-Gen. Cromwel, not for want of conviction, but in hopes to make a better bargain with another party, profeſſed himſelf unreſolved; and, having learned what he could of the principles and inclinations of thoſe preſent at the conference, took up a cuſhion, and flung it at my head, and then ran down the ſtairs; but I overtook him with another, which made him haſten down faſter than he deſired. The next day, paſſing by me in the houſe, he told me he was convinced of the deſirableneſs of what was propoſed, but not of the feaſibleneſs of it; thereby, as I ſuppoſe, deſigning to encourage me to hope, that he was inclined to join with us, though unwilling to publiſh his opinion, leſt the grandees ſhould be informed of it, to whom I preſume he profeſſed himſelf to be of another judgment.

Much time being ſpent ſince the parliament had voted no more addreſſes to be made to the

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King, nor any meſſages received from him, and yet nothing done towards bringing the King to a trial, or the ſettling of affairs without him; many of the people, who had waited patiently hitherto, finding themſelves as far from a ſettlement as ever, concluded, that they ſhould never have it, nor any eaſe from their burdens and taxes, without an accommodation with the King; and therefore entered into a combination through England, Scotland, and Ireland, to reſtore him to his authority. To this end petitions were promoted throughout all countries; the King, by his agents, fomenting and encouraging this ſpirit by all means poſſible; as appeared by his intercepted letters. So that Lt. Gen. Cromwel, who had made it his uſual practice to gratify enemies even with the oppreſſion of thoſe who were by principle his friends, began again to court the commonwealth-party, inviting ſome of them to confer with him at his chamber: with which acquainting me the next time he came to the houſe of Commons, I took the freedom to tell him, that he knew how to cajole, and give them good words, when he had occaſion to make uſe of them; whereat breaking out into a rage, he ſaid, they were a proud ſort of people, and only conſiderable in their own conceits. I told him, it was no new thing to hear truth calumniated; and that, though the commonwealth-men were fallen under his diſpleaſure, I would take the liberty to ſay, that they had always been, and ever would be, conſiderable, where there was not a total defection from honeſty, generoſity, and all true virtue; which I hoped was not yet our caſe.

The Earl of Warwick, with the fleet equipped

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ped for him by the parliament, fell down the river towards the ſhips commanded by Prince Charles; who preſuming either that he would not fight him, or perhaps come over to him, lay ſome time in expectation; but finding, by the manner of his approach, that he was deceived in that particular, he thought it convenient to make all the ſail he could for the coaſt of Holland. Our fleet followed him as far as the Texel; but, according to the defenſive principle of the Nobility, our Admiral, thinking he had ſufficiently diſcharged his duty, by clearing the Downs, and driving the other fleet from our coaſt, declined to fight, though he had an opportunity to engage. Deal and Sandwich caſtles were reduced by Col. Rich; and many of our revolted ſhips, not finding things according to their expectation, being conſtrained to ſerve under Prince Rupert, inſtead of the Lord Willoughby, who they deſired might command them, returned to the obedience of the parliament.

The Scots making all poſſible preparations to raiſe an army for the reſtitution of the King, Sir Thomas Glenham and Sir Marmaduke Langdale went to Scotland to join with them in that enterprize, and to draw what Engliſh they could to promote the deſign. The firſt of theſe ſeized upon Carliſle by order of the Scots, though contrary to their articles. Whereupon the parliament, thinking it neceſſary to provide for the ſecurity of Berwick, placed a good garriſon therein; and, reſolving to reinforce the militia of each county, ſent down ſome of their members to give life to the preparations. Amongſt others I was appointed to go down to the county for

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which I ſerved; where we agreed to raiſe two regiments of foot, and one of horſe. In the mean time, the enemy was not idle; and, taking advantage of the diſcontents of Capt. Poyer, Governor of Pembroke, they prevailed with him to revolt, and declare for the King. Other diſaffected parts of the nation, not yet ready for open oppoſition, acted with more caution, preparing and encouraging petitions to the parliament for a perſonal treaty with the King; of which the principal were Surrey, Eſſex, and Kent. In Eſſex they met at Chelmsford in a tumultuous manner, and ſeized Sir William Maſham, and other members of parliament; who, being ready to uſe all gentle methods to prevent farther inconveniences, ſent down Mr. Charles Rich, ſecond ſon to the Earl of Warwick, and Sir Harbottle Grimſton, two of their members, to endeavour to quiet that tumultuous ſpirit; with inſtructions and power to promiſe indemnity to all that ſhould deſiſt from the proſecution of what they deſired in this violent way. Which commiſſion they managed ſo well, that, upon their promiſe to preſent the requeſts of the petitioners, which were drawn up in writing, to the parliament, and to return them an anſwer, the people of the country diſperſed themſelves to their own houſes. But the ſedition of the Surrey men was not terminated ſo eaſily, of whom many hundreds came to the doors of the parliament: and not being ſatisfied with the anſwer the parliament thought fit to give to their petition, after they had been heated with drink, and animated by the cavalier-party, they reſolved to force from them another anſwer; and, with intolerable inſolence, preſſed upon their guard, beating

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beating the centinels to the main guard, which was drawn up at the upper end of Weſtminſter-hall, where they wounded the officer who commanded them; and, being intreated to deſiſt, became more violent: ſo that the ſoldiers were neceſſitated, in their own defence, and diſcharge of their duty, to fire upon them; whereby two or three of the country-men were killed. Neither did this quiet them, till ſome horſe and foot arrived to ſtrengthen the guard, and diſperſed them. Lt-Col. Cobbet, who commanded the guard, being called into the houſe to give an account of what had paſſed, went to the bar bleeding from the wounds which he had received, and related the paſſages before mentioned. But ſome friends of the petitioners within doors informing the houſe, that the matter of fact was otherwiſe than had been repreſented by the Lieutenant-Colonel, the parliament appointed a committee to examine the truth of it.

Thoſe of the ſecluded members who were in England being returned to the houſe, divers hard words paſſed between them and others of the parliament. And one day Commiſſary-General Ireton ſpeaking ſomething concerning them, Mr. Hollis, thinking it to be injurious to them, paſſing by him in the houſe, whiſpered him in the ear, telling him it was falſe, and he would juſtify it to be ſo if he would follow him; and thereupon immediately went out of the houſe, with the other following him. Some members who had obſerved their paſſionate carriage to each other, and ſeen them haſtily leaving the houſe, acquainted the parliament with their apprehenſions: whereupon they ſent their Serjeant at Arms to command their attendance; which he

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he letting them understand as they were taking boat to go to the other side of the water, they returned; and the house taking notice of what they were informed concerning them, injoined them to forbear all words or actions of enmity towards each other, and to carry themselves for the future as fellow-members of the same body; which they promised to do.

Lt-Gen. Cromwel, perceiving the clouds to gather on every side, complained to me, as we were walking in the Palace-yard, of the unhappiness of his condition, having made the greatest part of the nation his enemies, by adhering to a just cause. But that which he pretended to be his greatest trouble, was, that many who were engaged in the same cause with him, had entertained a jealousy and suspicion of him; which he assured me was a great discouragement to him; asking my advice what method was best for him to take. I could not but acknowledge that he had many enemies for the sake of the cause in which he stood engaged; and also, that many who were friends to that cause, had conceived suspicions of him. But I observed to him, that he could never oblige the former, without betraying that cause wherein he was engaged; which if he should do upon the account of an empty title, riches, or any other advantages; how those contracts would be kept with him, was uncertain; but most certain it was, that his name would be abominated by all good men, and his memory be abhorred by posterity. On the other side, if he persisted in the prosecution of our just intentions, it was the most probable way to subdue his enemies, to rectify the mistakes of those that had conceived a jealousy of him, and

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to convince his friends of his integrity: that if he ſhould fall in the attempt, yet his loſs would be lamented by all good men, and his name be tranſmitted to future ages with honour. He ſeemed to take well what I ſaid; and it might have been no diſſervice to him, if he had acted accordingly. But his deſign was rather to perſuade me, for the preſent, of the rectitude of his intentions, than to receive counſel from me concerning his conduct.

About this time we obtained ſome advantages in Ireland; where Col. Michael Jones, who had been ordered by the parliament to command at Dublin when the Earl of Ormond delivered it up, with the forces he had, fought the rebels, though double his number, at Dungon-hill, killed ſome thouſands of them, and totally routed the reſt. Of which when the parliament had received information, they ordered 500l. by year of the forfeited lands in Ireland to be ſettled upon Col. Jones, as a reward for his good ſervice. In England the defection began to increaſe; Capt. Henry Lilburn, who commanded for the parliament in Tinmouth caſtle, which lies at the mouth of the harbour, and is a key to Newcaſtle, declaring for the King. But notice thereof being brought to Sir Arthur Haſſerig at Newcaſtle, of which town he was Governor; he, with great expedition, drew down a party before the place, and, attacking it unexpectedly, took it by aſſault, before the men had been thorougly confirmed in their revolt by the Governor; whom he put to the ſword, and placed another garriſon therein.

Many of thoſe who had been for the parliament in South-Wales now joining with the King's party, they grew to be a conſiderable body;

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body; whereby Maj.-Gen. Laughern, who, upon ſome ſuſpicion, had been under confinement, was encouraged to get away, and join himſelf to them; Maj.-Gen. John Stradling, Sir Henry Stradling, Col. Thomas Stradling, and ſeveral other Gentlemen of thoſe parts, falling in with them. Col. Horton, with about 2500 horſe, foot, and dragoons, was ſent into Wales to engage them; Lt-Gen. Cromwel following with as many more forces as could be ſpared from the army; who, being within three or four days march of Col. Horton, received advice, that the enemy, to the number of about 7000, had engaged the Colonel at St. Faggons in Glamorganſhire; that, upon the firſt attack, our forces gave ground; but well conſidering the danger they were in, the country being full of enemies, and encouraged by their affection to the cauſe wherein they were engaged, they charged the enemy's van, conſiſting of the beſt of their men, with ſo great bravery and reſolution, that they forced them to give way; which thoſe that were in the rear, who were for the moſt part new-raiſed men, perceiving, began to ſhift for themſelves. Upon this ours followed their charge with ſo much vigour and ſucceſs, that the whole body of the enemy was ſoon routed and diſperſed. Many of them were killed in the purſuit, and many taken priſoners; amongſt the latter was Maj.-Gen. Stradling, and divers other officers. The news of this ſucceſs was very welcome to all thoſe that wiſhed well to the public, and proved a great diſcouragement to the contrary party.

The petitioners of Surrey drew into a body, and, in conjunction with the Kentiſh men of the King's party, appointed their rendezvous upon Blackheath.

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Blackheath. But Sir Thomas Fairfax, with that part of the army which he had with him, disappointed that design, by possessing himself of that ground before them. However, the enemy had brought together a considerable body of men; many of whom were induced to come in, upon assurances given that they should be commanded by Mr. Hales, a Gentleman of a great estate in Kent; though afterwards the Lord Goring appeared at the head of them, as had been designed from the beginning. Upon the advance of Sir Thomas Fairfax's army, the enemy, who exceeded him in number by one half at least, divided their body, sending one part to possess themselves of Maidstone, and the adjacent places, and another party to block up Dover and other forts upon the coast; whilst Goring remained with the rest about Rochester. Sir Thomas Fairfax resolving first to attack those about Maidstone, fell upon them, and beat them into the town, which they had fortified before: whereupon though the numbers within the town being at last equal to those without, made it a work of great hazard and difficulty; yet, considering that those with the Lord Goring exceeded either, and might march to the enemy's relief, ours resolved to storm the place, which they did the night following; the General, by his own example, encouraging the men to fall on; who for a good while were not able to make any considerable progress, till Col. Hewson, with his regiment, opened a passage into one of the streets; where the dispute growing hot, he was knocked down with a musket; but recovering himself, he pressed the enemy so hard, that they were forced to retreat to their main guard; and, falling in with them

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them at the same time, so disordered them, that they all began to shift for themselves; wherein they were favoured by the advantage of the night; yet many of them were made prisoners, and many killed. Many horses, and all their artillery, fell into the hands of ours. The General, as soon as he had refreshed his men, advanced towards that body commanded by the Lord Goring; which was much increased in number by the addition of those who escaped from Maidstone; but not in resolution, being so discouraged with their relation of what had passed there, that, immediately upon our approach, they began to retreat, many of them returning away to their own habitations. Notwithstanding this, a considerable body continuing with the Lord Goring, he sent to the city of London, desiring leave to march through the city into Essex, designing to recruit his men with such of that county as had lately expressed so much affection to the King's interest. The city, though much inclined to have the King received upon terms; yet not willing absolutely to espouse the cavalier party, especially in a flying posture; and considering, that there was a great number still amongst them who retained their affection to the public cause, returned a positive denial to Goring: so that he was necessitated to make use of boats, or other means, to transport his men over the river into the county of Essex. A party of horse was sent from the army to keep a guard at Bowbridge, as well to prevent the disaffected in the city from running to the enemy, as to hinder them from doing any thing to the prejudice of London.

Lt-Gen. Cromwel, with that part of the army

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my which was with him, beſieged the caſtle and town of Pembroke, whither the principal of that body which fled from St. Faggons had made their retreat. In the mean time the Preſbyterian party prevailing in the houſe, by reaſon of the abſence of divers members who belonged to the army, and were employed in all parts of the nation, diſcharged from priſon thoſe who had been committed upon the account of that force which was put upon the houſe by the late tumults, and left the parliament to the mercy of their enemies with a very ſlender guard. The Lord Liſle's commiſſion to be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland expiring at the ſame time, they refuſed to renew it: by which means the province of Munſter fell into the hands of the Lord Inchiquin, as Preſident; who made uſe of the opportunity to diſplace thoſe officers that had been put in by the Lord Liſle, preferring his own creatures to their employments, to the great prejudice of the Engliſh intereſt in that country. Many others, who were acquainted with his temper and principles, quitted voluntarily. And though he ſtill pretended fidelity to the ſtate of England, yet he expreſſed himſelf diſſatisfied with the proceedings of the army-party towards him. Some overtures alſo he had received from the Iriſh touching an accommodation: but being ſtraitened by them in his quarters, and therefore advancing with his army towards them, Col. Temple, and ſome others, yet remaining in his army, being willing to improve the occaſion, preſſed him ſo hard to reſolve to fight, that he could not well avoid it. At the beginning of the battle the ſucceſs ſeemed to be very doubtful: but in the end ours obtained the victory;

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ſome thouſands of the enemy being killed, many made priſoners, and all their baggage taken. Not long after this he declared againſt the parliament, and joined with the Iriſh rebels. Some of the Engliſh officers concurred with him in his declaration. Many left him, and came to the parliament; who made proviſion for them, as they had done for thoſe that came away before. Though this conjunction of Inchiquin was not concluded without the King's conſent; yet it was not a proper ſeaſon for him to condeſcend ſo far as they deſired: whereby great diviſions aroſe amongſt them. For there was a party of old Iriſh, as they were called, headed principally by Owen Roe O Neal, of whom ſeveral were in the ſupreme council, who, out of an innate hatred to the Engliſh government, joined with thoſe who would be ſatisfied with nothing leſs than to have the Pope acknowledged to be their only ſupreme lord: ſo that not being able to agree, their differences proved very ſerviceable to the Engliſh intereſt. The like ſpirit of diviſion appeared amongſt our enemies in Scotland: where though the number was great of thoſe that profeſſed their conſtant adherence to their engagements contained in the covenant; yet when it came to a trial in their convention, the anti-covenanters, who were for reſtoring the King without any terms, carried all before them: ſo that, inſtead of the Marquis of Argyll, the Marquis of Hamilton was appointed General of their army, all the inferior officers being of the ſame mold and principle; inſomuch, that the pulpits, who before had proclaimed this war, now accompanied the army that was preparing to march with their curſes: for though they could have

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have been contented, that the Sectarian party, as they called it, ſhould be ruined, provided they could find ſtrength enough to bring in the King themſelves; yet they feared their old enemy more than their new one; becauſe the latter would only reſtrain them from lording it over them and others, affording them equal liberty with themſelves: whereas the former was ſo far from that, as hardly to ſuffer them to be hewers of wood and drawers of water; for thoſe who would have all power, both civil and eccleſiaſtical, put into one hand, could not poſſibly agree with ſuch as would have it divided into many.

Theſe affairs neceſſitated the parliament to raiſe the militia, in order to oppoſe this malevolent ſpirit which threatened them from the north; and alſo prevailed with them to diſcountenance a charge of high treaſon, framed by Maj. Huntington, an officer of the army, with the advice of ſome members of both houſes, againſt Lt-Gen. Cromwel, for endeavouring, by betraying the King, parliament and army, to advance himſelf; it being manifeſt, that the preferring this accuſation at that time, was principally deſigned to take him off from his command, and thereby to weaken the army, that their enemies might be the better enabled to prevail againſt them.

The deſign of the King's eſcape was ſtill carried on; but, by the vigilance of the Governor of the Iſle of Wight, and his officers, it was diſcovered and prevented. The next morning after the diſcovery, they found the iron bars of the King's chamber-window eaten through by ſomething applied to them. Whereupon thoſe

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who were to have been instrumental in his escape, not knowing otherwise how to revenge themselves on those who had defeated their enterprize, accused Maj. Rolfe, a Captain in that garrison, very active and vigilant in his charge, of a design to kill the King; raising such a clamour about it, that the parliament thought not fit to decline the putting him upon his trial: but the accusation appearing to the grand jury to be grounded upon malice, they refused to find the bill. About the same time Capt. Burleigh, who had beat a drum at Newport for the rescuing of the King, was brought to his trial; and the jury having found him guilty of high treason, he was executed according to the sentence.

Those of the enemy commanded by the Lord Goring who had fled into Essex, grew to a considerable number: but being new-raised men, and not well acquainted one with another, upon the advance of our army retreated to Colchester, with a body so much exceeding ours, which pursued and besieged them in that place, that Commissary-General Ireton compared the town, and those therein, to a great bee-hive, and our army to a small swarm of bees sticking on one side of it. But the number of ours was soon increased by the forces which the well-affected in the counties of Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Cambridge, sent to their assistance.

The Earl of Holland, who at the beginning of the parliament had appeared active for them, and afterwards leaving them, had gone to the King at Oxford, when he supposed him to grow strong; then again returning to the parliament upon the declining of the King's affairs, publishing a declaration at his coming to London, that he

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he left the King becauſe he ſaw the Iriſh rebels ſo eminently favoured by him; in this low condition of the parliament, revolted again, and formed a party of about 1000 horſe; with which he marched from London, and declared againſt them, accompanied by the Duke of Buckingham, (whoſe ſequeſtration, upon the account of his minority when he firſt engaged with the King, the parliament had freely remitted), and the Lord Francis his brother; prevailing alſo with Dalbeir, formerly Quartermaſter-General to the Earl of Eſſex, to join with them. Their rendezvous was appointed to be upon Banſted-downs. But the vigilance of the parliament was ſuch, that a party of horſe and foot was ſoon ſent after them, commanded by Sir Michael Leweſey; who without much diſpute put thoſe courtly Gentlemen to the rout. The Lord Francis, preſuming perhaps that his beauty would have charmed the ſoldiers, as it had done Mrs. Kirk, for whom he had made a ſplendid entertainment the night before he left the town, and made her a preſent of plate to the value of 1000 l. ſtaid behind his company; where, unſeaſonably daring the troopers, and refuſing to take quarter, he was killed; and after his death there was found upon him ſome of the hair of Mrs. Kirk ſewed in a piece of ribbon that hung next his ſkin. The reſt fled towards St. Neots, in the county of Huntington; where, being fallen upon again, they were routed a ſecond time: in which action the parliament's ſoldiers, to expreſs their deteſtation of Dalbeir's treachery, hewed him in pieces. The Earl of Holland was taken, and ſent priſoner to Warwick caſtle: but

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the Duke of Buckingham escaped, and went over to France.

Pomfret castle being seized by some of the King's party, was besieged by the country, assisted by some of the army, Sir Hugh Cholmondeley commanding at the siege. But the army, finding little progress made therein, ordered Col. Rainsborough with more forces thither; appointing him to command in the room of Sir Hugh Cholmondeley. Whilst he was preparing for that service, being at Doncaster, ten or twelve miles from Pomfret, with a considerable force in the town, a party of horse dismounting at his quarters, and going up as friends to his chamber, under pretence of having business with him, seized him first, and, upon his refusal to go silently with them, murdered him. After his death, another commander being appointed in his place to carry on the siege, those in the castle were reduced to such extremities, that some of the most desperate of them resolved, together with their Governor one Morris, who had been page to the Earl of Strafford, to endeavour the breaking through our forces on horseback: which they attempted. And though most of them were beaten back to the castle by the besiegers, yet this Morris made his way through; but was afterwards taken as he passed through the country in the disguise of a beggar, and carried to York; where he was arraigned before Justice Thorpe, and being found guilty of treason, was executed for the same.

Lt-Gen. Cromwel, with that part of the army which was with him, besieged the town and castle of Pembroke; whither the chief of that party that fled from St. Faggons had made their retreat,

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retreat, as I said before: but wanting great guns, he was obliged to send for some to Gloucester, which with much difficulty were brought to him. This place detained the greatest part of our army about six weeks. But it was remarkable, that about the time the Scots were entering into England, the garrison, for want of provisions, was forced to capitulate and surrender upon articles; by which some of them were to remain prisoners, and others to be banished into Ireland for three years. Amongst the latter were, Col. Thomas Stradling, Sir Henry Stradling, Col. Button, and Maj. Butler; of the first were, Col. Laughern, Col. Poyer, and Col. Powell.

Twenty thousand Scots being upon their march into England under the conduct of Duke Hamilton, with about 5000 English commanded by Sir Marmaduke Langdale; some of us who had opposed the Lieutenant-General's arbitrary proceedings when we were convinced he acted to promote a selfish and unwarrantable design, now thinking ourselves obliged to strengthen his hands in that necessary work which he was appointed to undertake, writ a letter to him, to encourage him, from the consideration of the justice of the cause wherein he was engaged, and the wickedness of those with whom he was to encounter, to proceed with chearfulness; assuring him, that, notwithstanding all our discouragements, we would readily give him all the assistance we could. The house of Commons declared the Scots who had invaded England to be enemies, and ordered the Lieutenant-General to advance towards them, and fight them. But the Lords, in this doubtful posture of affairs, declined to concur with them in the same. Yet both of them, with the

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the city of London, joined in driving on a personal treaty with the King in the Isle of Wight; and to that end the Lords and Commons revoked the votes for non-addresses: whereby the King seemed to be on sure ground; for that if the Scots army failed, he might still make terms with the parliament. The King's party in Colchester were also much encouraged with hopes of relief from the Scots army, who were very numerous, and well furnished with all things but a good cause. To fight this formidable army, the Lieutenant-General could not make up much above 7000 horse and foot; and those so extremely harrassed with hard service and long marches, that they seemed rather fit for a hospital than a battle. With this handful of men he advanced towards the enemy; and about Preston in Lancashire both armies met on the 17th of August 1648. The English who were in the Scots army, had the honour of the van, and for a time entertained ours with some opposition; but being vigorously pressed by our men, they were forced to retreat to a pass, which they maintained against us, whilst they sent to their General for succours; which he not sending, on purpose, as was said, that the English might be cut off, and his party kept entire to enable him to set up for himself, and give law to both nations, they began to shift for themselves: which made such an impression upon the Scots, that they soon followed their example, retreating in a disorderly manner. Ours followed them so close, that most of their foot threw down their arms, and yielded themselves prisoners. Many of the principal officers of their foot were taken, with all their artillery, ammunition, and baggage. Hamilton, with 4 or

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5000 horſe in a body, left the field; and was purſued by Col. Thorney, a member of parliament, and Colonel of a regiment of horſe, a worthy and a valiant man; who following them too cloſe and unadviſedly, run himſelf upon one of their lances, wherewith he was mortally wounded; which he perceiving by the waſting of his ſpirits, to expreſs his affection to his country, and joy for the defeat of the enemy, deſired his men to open to the right and left, that he might have the ſatisfaction to ſee them run before he died. The enemy's body of horſe kept themſelves together for ſome days, roving up and down the country about Leiceſterſhire; which county the Lord Grey of Grooby had raiſed, and brought together about 3000 horſe and foot to preſerve the country from plunder, and to take all poſſible advantages againſt the enemy. And tho' a body of horſe from the army was in purſuit of the Scots; yet the Leiceſterſhire party came up firſt to them at Uttoxeter in Staffordſhire, where the body of the enemy's horſe was; and whilſt the Scots were treating with the other party from the army, the Lord Grey's men obſerving no guards kept, entered upon them before any conditions were made: whereupon Hamilton ſurrendered himſelf to Col. Wayte, an officer of the Leiceſterſhire party, delivering to him his ſcarf, his George, and his ſword; which laſt he deſired him to keep carefully, becauſe it had belonged to his anceſtors. By the two parties the Scots were all made priſoners, and all their horſes ſeized. The Duke of Hamilton was carried priſoner to Windſor caſtle; and all their ſtandards of horſe and foot were taken, and ſent up to London; where the parliament ordered them to be hung

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hung up in Westminster-hall. The house of Lords who had avoided to declare the Scots enemies whilst their army was entire, now after their defeat prevented the house of Commons, and moved that a day might be appointed to give God thanks for this success. The news of this victory being carried to the Isle of Wight, the King said to the Governor, that it was the worst news that ever came to England: to which he answered, That he thought the King had no cause to be of that opinion; since if Hamilton had beaten the English, he would certainly have possessed himself of the thrones of England and Scotland. The King presently replied, "You "are mistaken; I could have commanded him "back with the motion of my hand." Which whether he could do or no, was doubtful; but whatever reasons he had for this opinion, it seemed very unseasonable to own it openly in that conjuncture. Lt-Gen. Cromwel marched with part of his army to Edinburgh; where he dispossessed the Hamiltonian party of their authority, and put the power into the hands of the Presbyterians; by whom he was received with great demonstrations of joy. And tho' lately they looked upon the Independent party as the worst of their enemies, yet now they owned and embraced them as their best friends and deliverers; and having notice given them, that the English army was about to return into England, they prevailed with the Lieutenant-General to leave Maj.-Gen. Lambert with a body of horse, till they could raise more forces to provide for their own safety.

The treaty with the King being pressed with more heat than ever, and a design visibly appearing

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ing to render all our victories useless thereby; by the advice of some friends I went down to the army, which lay at that time before Colchester: where attending upon the General, Sir Thomas Fairfax, to acquaint him with the state of affairs at London, I told him, that a design was driving on to betray the cause in which so much of the people's blood had been shed; that the King being under a restraint, would not account himself obliged by any thing he should promise under such circumstances; assuring him, that most of those who pushed on the treaty with the greatest vehemency, intended not that he should be bound to the performance of it, but designed principally to use his authority and favour in order to destroy the army; who, as they had assumed the power, ought to make the best use of it, and to prevent the ruin of themselves and the nation. He acknowledged what I said to be true; and declared himself resolved to use the power he had, to maintain the cause of the public, upon a clear and evident call, looking upon himself to be obliged to pursue the work which he was about. Perceiving by such a general answer that he was irresolute, I went to Commissary-General Ireton, who had a great influence upon him, and having found him, we discoursed together upon the same subject; wherein we both agreed that it was necessary for the army to interpose in this matter, but differed about the time; he being of opinion, that it was to permit the King and the parliament to make an agreement, and to wait till they had made a full discovery of their intentions, whereby the people becoming sensible of their own danger, would willingly join to oppose them. My opinion

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nion was, that it would be much easier for the army to keep them from a conjunction, than to oppose them when united; it being highly probable, that the first things they would fall upon after their union, would be such as were most taking with the people, in order to oblige them to assist in the disbanding of the army, under pretence of lessening their taxes: and then if the army should in any manner signify a dislike of their proceedings, they would be esteemed by the majority of the people, to be disturbers of the public peace, and accused of designing nothing save their own particular advantages.

The King's party in Colchester expecting to be included in the peace which was treating between him and the parliament, held out to the utmost; but being in extreme want of provisions, and destitute of all hopes of relief since the defeat of the Scots, they were forced to surrender, on the 28th of August 1648, upon articles; whereby some of the principal of them being prisoners at discretion, the court-martial assembled, and condemned Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Lisle, and Sir Barnard Gascoin, to die; the last of whom being a foreigner, was pardoned, and the other two were shot to death according to the sentence. The Lord Goring and the Lord Capel were sent prisoners to London, and committed to the Tower by an order of the parliament.

The two houses finding things in this posture, hastened the departure of their commissioners to the Isle of Wight, with powers and instructions to treat with the King; who principally insisted on that article concerning Bishops, whom he accounted to be by divine right, or rather essentially

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ly neceſſary to the ſupport of arbitrary power. Whereupon Miniſters of each ſide were appointed to diſpute touching that ſubject, in order to ſatisfy the King's conſcience. But the army having now wonderfully diſperſed their enemies on every part, began to conſider how to ſecure themſelves and the common cauſe againſt the counſels that were carried on in oppoſition to them, under pretext of making peace with the King; and to that end drew up a declaration at St Alban's, dated the 16th of November 1648, ſhewing, That the grounds of their firſt engagement was, to bring delinquents to juſtice; that the King was guilty of the blood ſhed in the firſt and ſecond war, and that therefore they could not truſt him with the government. This remonſtrance they preſented to the parliament on the 20th of November 1648. The King and parliament, ſeeing this cloud beginning to gather, endeavoured by all means poſſible to haſten their treaty to a concluſion. The army alſo were not wanting to fortify themſelves againſt that ſhock; ſending ſome of their own number to thoſe members of parliament whom they eſteemed moſt faithful to the common cauſe, to invite them down to the army, after they ſhould in a public manner have expreſſed their diſſatisfaction to the proceedings of thoſe who had betrayed the truſt repoſed in them by the good people of England; and declared, that finding it impoſſible to be any farther ſerviceable in parliament, they had reſolved to repair to the army, in order to procure their aſſiſtance in ſettling the government of the nation upon a juſt foundation. At a meeting of ſome members of parliament with the ſaid officers from the army, it was reſolved,

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That though the way proposed by them might be taken in case all other means failed; yet, seeing there was more than a sufficient number of members in the parliament to make a house, who were most affectionate to the public cause, it would be more proper for the army to relieve them from those who rendered them useless to the public service, thereby preserving the name and place of the parliament, than for the members thereof to quit their stations wherein they were appointed to serve, and to leave the civil authority in the hands of those who would be ready to fall in with any power that would attempt to frustrate what should be agreed on by them and the army. In prosecution of this result, the army drew to Colebrook; from whence Commissary-General Ireton sent me word, that now he hoped they should please me: which I must acknowledge they did by the way which they were taking; not from any particular advantages that I expected from it, except an equal share of security with other men; but that the people of England might be preserved in their just rights, from the oppressions of violent men; the question in dispute between the King's party and us being, as I apprehended, "Whether the "King should govern as a god by his will, and "the nation be governed by force like beasts? "or, Whether the people should be governed by "laws made by themselves, and live under a "government derived from their own consent?" being fully persuaded, that an accommodation with the King was unsafe to the people of England, and unjust and wicked in the nature of it. The former, besides that it was obvious to all men, the King himself had proved, by the duplicity

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plicity of his dealing with the parliament; which manifestly appeared in his own papers taken at the battle of Naseby, and elsewhere. Of the latter I was convinced by the express words of God's Law: "That blood defileth the land, and "the land cannot be cleansed of the blood that "is shed therein, but by the blood of him that "shed it," *Numb.* xxxv. 33. And therefore I could not consent to the counsels of those who were contented to leave the guilt of so much blood upon the nation, and thereby to draw down the just vengeance of God upon us all; when it was most evident, that the war had been occasioned by the invasion of our rights, and open breach of our laws and constitution on the King's part.

The commissioners that were appointed to manage the treaty with the King, returned with the King's answer, containing neither a positive grant, nor an absolute denial. As to the Bishops, he still retained his principle of their divine right, and therefore declared that he could not dispense with the abolition of them: but for present satisfaction, hoping by giving ground, to gain a better opportunity to serve them, he consented, that those who had bought their lands, should have a lease of them for some years: and for satisfaction for the blood that had been shed, he was willing that six should be excepted; but withal care was taken, that they should be such as were far enough from the reach of justice. By another article, the militia was to remain in the parliament for ten years: thereby implying, if I mistake not, that the right of granting it was in the King, and consequently that we had done him wrong in contending with him for it. By

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ſuch ways and means did ſome men endeavour to abuſe the nation.

Some of our commiſſioners who had been with the King, pleaded in the houſe for a concurrence with him, as if they had been employed by him; though others with more ingenuity acknowledged, that they would not adviſe an agreement upon thoſe terms, were it not to prevent a greater evil that was like to enſue upon the refuſal of them. But Sir Henry Vane ſo truly ſtated the matter of fact relating to the treaty, and ſo evidently diſcovered the deſign and deceit of the King's anſwer, that he made it clear to us, that by it the juſtice of our cauſe was not aſſerted, nor our rights ſecured for the future; concluding, that if they ſhould accept of theſe terms without the concurrence of the army, it would prove but a feather in their caps. Notwithſtanding which, the corrupt party in the houſe, having bargained for their own and the nation's liberty, reſolved to break through all hazards and inconveniences to make good their contract, and, after twenty four hours debate, reſolved by the plurality of votes, "That the "King's conceſſions were ground for a future "ſettlement." At which ſome of us expreſſing our diſſatisfaction, deſired that our proteſtation might be entered. But that being denied, as againſt the orders of the houſe, I contented myſelf to declare publicly, that, being convinced that they had deſerted the common cauſe and intereſt of the nation, I could no longer join with them; the reſt of thoſe who diſſented, alſo expreſſing themſelves much to the ſame purpoſe. The day following, ſome of the principal officers of the army came to London, with expectation

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ſtation that things would be brought to this iſſue. And conſulting with ſome members of parliament and others, it was concluded, after a full and free debate, That the meaſures taken by the parliament were contrary to the truſt repoſed in them, and tending to contract the guilt of the blood that had been ſhed, upon themſelves and the nation: that it was therefore the duty of the army, to endeavour to put a ſtop to ſuch proceedings; having engaged in the war, not ſimply as mercenaries, but out of judgment and conſcience, being convinced that the cauſe in which they were engaged was juſt, and that the good of the people was involved in it. Being come to this reſolution, three of the members of the houſe, and three of the officers of the army, withdrew into a private room, to conſider of the beſt means to attain the ends of our ſaid reſolution; where we agreed, That the army ſhould be drawn up the next morning, and guards placed in Weſtminſter-hall, the court of requeſts, and the lobby; that none might be permitted to paſs into the houſe but ſuch as had continued faithful to the public intereſt. To this end, we went over the names of all the members one by one, giving the trueſt characters we could of their inclinations; wherein I preſume we were not miſtaken in many. For the parliament was fallen into ſuch factions and diviſions, that any one who uſually attended and obſerved the buſineſs of the houſe, could, after a debate upon any queſtion, eaſily number the votes that would be on each ſide, before the queſtion was put. Commiſſary-General Ireton went to Sir Thomas Fairfax, and acquainted him with the neceſſity of this extraordinary way

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of proceeding; having taken care to have the army drawn up the next morning by seven of the clock. Col. Pride commanded the guard that attended at the parliament-doors, having a list of those members who were to be excluded; preventing them from entering into the house, and securing some of the most suspected under a guard provided for that end; in which he was assisted by the Lord Grey of Grooby and others, who knew the members. To justify these proceedings, the army sent a message to the house, representing, That whereas divers members had been expelled the house upon account of the violence done to the parliament by the city of London and others, in 1647; yet, upon the absence of many well-affected members, by reason of their employments in the army and elsewhere against the enemy, the said persons were readmitted without any trial or satisfaction in the things whereof they were accused; whereby the Scots had been drawn to invade this kingdom, and the house prevented by the intruders and their accomplices from declaring against the invaders, who had made up the number of ninety odd votes to that purpose: and whereas, by the prevalency of the same corrupt counsels, justice had been obstructed, and a settlement of affairs hindered; and, lastly, the King's concessions declared to be a ground for the settlement of peace, notwithstanding the insufficiency and defects of them: they therefore most humbly desired, that all those members who are innocent in these things, would by a public declaration acquit themselves from any guilt thereof, or concurrence therein; and that those who shall not so acquit themselves, may be excluded or suspended

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pended the house till they have given clear satisfaction therein; that those who have faithfully performed their trust, may proceed without interruption to the execution of justice; and to make speedy provision for an equal succession of representatives, wherein differences may be composed, and all men comfortably acquiesce; as they for their parts thereby engaged and assured them they would. The house, wherein there was about six score, was moved to send for those members who were thus excluded by the army: which they did, as I presume, rather upon the account of decency, than from any desire they had that their message should be obeyed; and that it might clearly appear, that this interruption proceeded from the army, and not from any advice of the parliament; to the end that what they should act separately, might be esteemed to be only in order to prevent such inconveniences as might otherwise fall upon the nation, if the whole power should be left in the hands of an army; and that their actions appearing to be founded upon this necessity, they might the better secure the respect and obedience of the people. Upon such considerations, when the Serjeant returned, and acquainted them, that the excluded members were detained by the army, the house proceeded in the business before them.

Lt-Gen. Cromwel the night after the interruption of the house arrived from Scotland, and lay at Whitehall; where, and at other places, he declared that he had not been acquainted with this design; yet since it was done, he was glad of it, and would endeavour to maintain it.

Maj.-Gen. Harrison being sent by the army with a party of horse to bring the King from the Isle

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Isle of Wight, Col. Hammond, who was intrusted with the custody of him by the parliament, disputed to deliver him; but finding that those about him inclined to comply, he thought it not convenient to make any farther opposition. So that the King was conducted from the island to Hurst castle, and from thence to Windsor, by Maj.-Gen. Harrison. Being on his way, he dined at Mr. Levistón's in Bagshot park, who had provided a horse for him to make his escape: but this design also was discovered, and prevented. The King being at Windsor, it was debated what should be done with him. The army were for bringing him to a trial, for levying war against the parliament and people of England; and the common council of the city of London presented a petition to the parliament, by the hands of Col. Titchburn, to that effect. But some of the commonwealth's men desired, that before they consented to that method, it might be resolved what government to establish, fearing a design in the army to set up some one of themselves in his room. Others endeavoured to persuade them, that the execution of justice ought to be their first work, in respect of their duty to God and the people; that the failure therein had been already the occasion of a second war, which was justly to be charged on the parliament for neglecting that duty; that those who were truly commonwealth's men, ought to be of that opinion, as the most probable means to obtain their desires in the establishment of an equal and just government; and that the officers of the army, who were chiefly to be suspected, could not be guilty of so much impudence and folly, to erect an arbitrary power in

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in any one of themſelves, after they had in ſo public a manner declared their deteſtation of it in another.

In order to the accompliſhment of the important work which the houſe of Commons had now before them, they voted, "That, by the fundamental laws of the land, it is treaſon for "the King of England for the time being, to "levy war againſt the parliament and kingdom." To which the Lords not concurring, they paſſed it the next day without their conſent; and the day after declared, "That the people "are, under God, the original of all juſt power; "that the houſe of Commons, being choſen by, "and repreſenting the people, are the ſupreme "power in the nation; that whatſoever is enacted or declared for law by the Commons "in parliament, hath the force of a law, and "the people are concluded thereby, though the "conſent of King or Peers be not had thereto."

This obſtruction being removed, ſeveral petitions were brought to the parliament, for ſo the houſe of Commons now ſtyled themſelves, from the city of London, borough of Southwark, and moſt of the counties in England, requeſting that the King might be brought to juſtice: in order to which, they paſſed an act, authoriſing the perſons therein named, or any thirty of them, to proceed to the arraignment, condemnation or acquittal of the King; with full power, in caſe of condemnation, to proceed to ſentence, and to cauſe the ſaid ſentence to be put in execution.

This high court of juſtice met on the 8th of January 1648, in the Painted chamber, to the number of about fourſcore, conſiſting chiefly of members

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members of parliament, officers of the army, and gentlemen of the country; where they chose Serjeant Aske, Serjeant Steel, and Dr. Dorislaus, to be their counsel; Mr. John Coke of Gray's-Inn to be their Solicitor, and Mr. Andrew Broughton their Secretary; and sent out a precept, under their hands and seals, for proclaiming the court to be held in Westminster-hall on the 10th of the said month; which was performed accordingly by Serjeant Dendy, attended by a party of horse, in Cheapside, before the Old Exchange, and in Westminster-hall. On the 10th, they chose Serjeant Bradshaw to be their President, with Mr. Lisle and Mr. Say to be his assistants. And a charge of high treason being drawn up against the King, the court appointed a convenient place to be prepared at the upper end of Westminster-hall for his public trial, directing it to be covered with scarlet cloth, and ordered twenty halberdiers to attend the President, and thirty the King.

All things being thus prepared for the trial, the King was conducted from Windsor to St. James's. From whence, on the 20th of January, he was brought to the bar of the high court of justice; where the President acquainted the King with the causes of his being brought to that place: for that he, contrary to the trust reposed in him by the people, to see the laws put in execution for their good, had made use of his power to subvert those laws, and to set up his will and pleasure as a law over them: that, in order to effect that design, he had endeavoured the suppression of parliaments, the best defence of the people's liberties: that he had levied war against the parliament and people of England, wherein

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wherein great numbers of the good people had been slain; of which blood the parliament presuming him guilty, had appointed this high court of justice for the trial of him for the same. Then turning to Mr. Broughton, clerk of the court, he commanded him to read the charge against the King; who, as the clerk was reading the charge, interrupted him, saying, "I "am not intrusted by the people, they are mine "by inheritance;" demanding by what authority they brought him thither. The President answered, That they derived their authority from an act made by the Commons of England assembled in parliament. The King said, The Commons could not give an oath; that they were no court, and therefore could make no act for the trial of any man, much less of him their sovereign. It was replied, That the Commons assembled in parliament could acknowledge no other sovereign but God; for that upon his and the people's appeal to the sword for the decision of their respective pretensions, judgment had been given for the people; who, conceiving it to be their duty not to bear the sword in vain, had appointed the court to make inquisition for the blood that had been shed in that dispute. Whereupon the President, being moved by Mr. Solicitor Coke, in the name, and on the behalf of the good people of England, commanded the clerk of the court to proceed in the reading of the charge against him. Which being done, the King was required to give his answer to it, and to plead Guilty, or Not guilty. The King demurred to the jurisdiction of the court; affirming, that no man, nor body of men, had power to call him to an account, being not intrusted by

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by man, and therefore accountable only to God for his actions; entering upon a large discourse of his being in treaty with the parliament's commissioners at the Isle of Wight, and his being taken from thence he knew not how, when he thought he was come to a conclusion with them. This discourse seeming not to the purpose, the President told him, that as to his plea of not being accountable to man, seeing God, by his providence, had over-ruled it, the court had resolved to do so also; and that if he would give no other answer, that which he had given should be registered; and they would proceed as if he had confessed the charge. In order to which, the President commanded his answer to be entered; directing Serjeant Dendy, who attended the court, to withdraw the prisoner; which, as he was doing, many persons cried out in the hall, *Justice, Justice.* The King being withdrawn, the court adjourned into the Painted chamber, to consider what farther was fit to be done; and being desirous to prevent all objections tending to accuse them of haste or surprise, they resolved to convcen him before them publicly twice more: after which, if he persisted in his demurrer to the jurisdiction of the court, then to give judgment against him. And that nothing might be wanting, in case he should resolve to plead, they appointed witnesses to be examined to every article of the charge. At the King's second appearance before the court, which was on the 22d of January, he carried himself in the same manner as before. Whereupon his refusal being again entered, and he withdrawn, the court adjourned to the Painted chamber. On the 23d of January, the King was brought

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a third time before the commissioners; where refusing to plead, as he had done before, his refusal was entered; and witnesses examined publicly, to prove the charge of his levying war against the parliament. After which, Solicitor-General Coke demanded of the court, that they would proceed to the pronouncing of sentence against the prisoner at the bar. Whereupon the court adjourned into the Painted chamber; and, upon serious consideration, declared the King to be a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a public enemy to the commonwealth: that his condemnation extend unto death, by severing his head from his body; and that a sentence grounded upon those votes be prepared; which being agreed upon, the King should be ordered on the next day following to receive it. The sentence being ingrossed, was read on the 27th of January: and thereupon the court resolved, that the same should be the sentence, which should be read and published in Westminster-hall the same day; that the President should not permit the King to speak after the sentence pronounced; that he should openly declare it to be the sense and judgment of the court; and that the commissioners should signify their consent by standing up. In the afternoon, the King was brought to the bar, and desired that he might be permitted to make one proposition before they proceeded to sentence; which he earnestly pressing, as that which he thought would tend to the reconciling of all parties, and to the peace of the three kingdoms, they permitted him to offer it. The effect of which was, that he might meet the two houses in the Painted chamber, to whom he doubted not to offer that which

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ſhould ſatisfy and ſecure all intereſts; deſigning, as I have been ſince informed, to propoſe his own reſignation, and the admiſſion of his ſon to the throne, upon ſuch terms as ſhould have been agreed upon. This motion being new and unexpected to the court, who were not willing to deny or grant any thing without ſerious deliberation, they withdrew to conſider of it into the inner court of wards: and being ſatisfied, upon debate, that nothing but loſs of time would be the conſequence of it, they returned into the court with a negative to his demand; telling him, That they met there as a court of juſtice, commiſſionated by the parliament, of whoſe authority they were fully ſatisfied: that, by their commiſſion, they were not authoriſed to receive any propoſals from him, but to proceed to the trial of him: that, in order thereto, his charge had been read to him; to which, if he would have pleaded, the counſel for the commonwealth were ready to have proved it againſt him: that he had thrice demurred to the juriſdiction of the court; which demurrer the court had over-ruled, and regiſtered; ordering to proceed againſt him, as if he had confeſſed the charge: and that if he had any propoſition to make, it was proper for him to addreſs it to the parliament, and not to them. Then the Preſident enlarged upon the horrid nature of thoſe crimes of which he had been accuſed, and was now convicted; declaring, That the only juſt power of Kings was derived from the conſent of the people: that whereas the people had intruſted him to ſee their laws put in execution, he had endeavoured, throughout the whole courſe of his reign, to ſubvert thoſe good laws, and to

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introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government in the room of them: that, to cut off all hopes of redress, he had attempted, from the beginning of his reign, either wholly to destroy parliaments, or to render them only subservient to his own corrupt designs: that though he had consented, the public necessities so requiring, that this parliament should not be dissolved but by an act of themselves, he had levied war against them, that he might not only dissolve them, but, by the terror of his power, for ever discourage such assemblies from doing their duty: that in this war many thousands of the good people of England had lost their lives: that, in obedience to what God commanded, and the nation expected, the parliament had appointed this court to make inquisition for this blood, and to try him for the same: that his charge had been read to him, and he required to give an answer to it; which he having thrice refused to do, he acquainted him, that the court had resolved to pronounce sentence against him; and thereupon commanded the clerk to read it; which he did, being to this effect: That the King, for the crimes contained in the charge, should be carried back to the place from whence he came, and thence to the place of execution, where his head should be severed from his body. Which sentence being read, the commissioners testified their unanimous assent by their standing up. The King would have spoken something before he was withdrawn; but being accounted dead in law immediately after sentence pronounced, it was not permitted. The court withdrew also; and agreed, that the sentence should be put in execution on the Tuesday following,

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which would be the 30th of January 1648. The King, having refuſed ſuch Miniſters as the court appointed to attend him, deſired that Dr. Juxton, late Biſhop of London, might be permitted to come to him; which being granted, and Adjutant-General Allen ſent to acquaint the Doctor with the King's condition and deſires, he, being altogether unprepared for ſuch a work, broke out into theſe expreſſions, "God ſave me, "what a trick is this, that I ſhould have no "more warning, and I have nothing ready!" but, recollecting himſelf a little, he put on his ſcarf, and his other furniture, and went with him to the King; where, having read the common-prayer, and one of his old ſermons, he adminiſtered the ſacrament to him; not forgetting to uſe the words of the confeſſion ſet down in the liturgy, inviting all thoſe that truly repent to make their confeſſion before the congregation then gathered together; though there was none preſent but the King and himſelf.

The high court of juſtice appointed a committee to inſpect the parts about Whitehall for a convenient place for the execution of the King; who having made their report, it was agreed, that a ſcaffold ſhould be erected to that purpoſe near the Banqueting-houſe, and order given to cover it with black. The ſame day, being the 29th of January, they ſigned a warrant for his execution, to which about threeſcore of the commiſſioners ſet their hands and ſeals; directing it to Col. Hacker, Col. Hunks, and Col. Phaier, or either of them. The Duke of Glouceſter and the Lady Eliſabeth waited on the King the ſame day to take their leave of him. An Extraordinary ambaſſador from the United Provinces had his

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his audience in the parliament. His business was, to interceed with them for the life of the King, and to preserve a fair correspondence between England and the States. The next day, about eight in the morning, the King, attended by a guard, was brought from St. James's, through the park, to Whitehall; where, having drunk a glass or two of red wine, and staid about two hours in a private room, he was conducted to the scaffold out of a window of the Banqueting-house; and having made a speech, and taken off his George, he kneeled down at the block, and the executioner performed his office. The body was ordered to be interred at Windsor. The Duke of Lennox, the Marquis of Hertford, the Earls of Southampton and Lindsey, with some others, having leave from the parliament, attended it to the grave.

A report of the proceedings of the high court of justice being made to the parliament, they declared, That the persons employed in that important service had discharged their trust with courage and fidelity; that the parliament was well satisfied with the account of their proceedings, ordering them to be ingrossed, and recorded amongst the parliament-rolls, in order to transmit the memory thereof to posterity; and resolved, that the commissioners of the great seal should issue a *certiorari* to their clerk to record those proceedings in the chancery, and that the same should be sent to the other courts at Westminster, and to the *custos rotulorum* of each county. Judge Jenkins, Sir John Stowel, and divers other persons, who were prisoners, and had carried themselves very insolently, now finding the parliament to be in earnest, began to

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come to a better temper. Col. Middleton, who was alſo a priſoner at Newcaſtle upon parole, ran away to Scotland; and being required to return, anſwered, That his life was dearer to him than his honour. Sir Marmaduke Langdale made his eſcape alſo; and Sir Lewis Dives through a houſe of office in Whitehall. The Lord Capel got out of the Tower; but being diſcovered by a waterman as he croſſed the Thames, he was ſeized in a houſe at Lambeth. Duke Hamilton alſo eſcaped out of Windſor caſtle, and came to Southwark; where knocking at the door of an inn, he was ſeized by a ſoldier who knew him, and was paſſing by that way; whereupon he was committed to the Tower. The houſe of Lords becoming now the ſubject of the conſideration and debate of the parliament, Lt-Gen. Cromwel appeared for them, having already had a cloſe correſpondence with many of them; and, it may be, preſuming he might have farther uſe of them in thoſe deſigns he had reſolved to carry on. But they not meeting in their houſe at the time to which they had adjourned, much facilitated their removal: ſo that the queſtion being put, Whether the houſe of Commons ſhould take advice of the houſe of Lords in the exerciſe of the legiſlative power? it was carried in the negative, and thereupon reſolved, "That the houſe of Peers was uſeleſs "and dangerous, and ought to be aboliſhed;" and an act was ſoon after paſſed to that effect. After this they proceeded to declare, "That the "office of a King in this nation is unneceſſary, "burdenſome, and dangerous to the liberty, "ſafety, and public intereſt of the people, and "therefore ought to be aboliſhed; and that they

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"will settle the government of the nation in "the way of a commonwealth." To this end, they ordered a declaration to be published, whereby it was declared treason for any person to endeavour to promote Charles Stuart to be King of England, or any other single person to be chief Governor thereof. They also ordered the great seal, and other seals, which had the image of the late King on them, to be defaced; and appointed new ones to be made with the stamp of the house of Commons on one side, accompanied with this inscription, THE GREAT SEAL OF THE PARLIAMENT OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND. On the other side was engraven the cross and the harp, being the arms of England and Ireland, with this inscription, GOD WITH US: ordering all writs formerly running in the King's name, to be issued out *in the names of the keepers of the liberty of England.* A high court of justice was constituted by act of parliament, for the trying of Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, the Lord Goring, the Lord Capel, and Sir John Owen. Duke Hamilton pleaded, that he entered into England as an enemy, being of another nation, and born before the act of union, and consequently not to be tried by the laws of this; besides, he had surrendered himself upon conditions. The rest of the Lords pleaded articles also; and so did Sir John Owen. But that allegation appeared to be of no weight by the testimony of the General, in relation to the Lords Goring and Capel, and by the evidence of Col. Wayte touching Duke Hamilton; the like being affirmed by other witnesses against the Earl of Holland and Sir John Owen: for if there had been any promise made to any of them, either

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either implicitly or by word of mouth, it could only extend to protect them from the military, not the civil sword. And as to the plea for Duke Hamilton, That he was born before the two nations were united, it was answered, That they tried him not as Duke Hamilton, but as Earl of Cambridge, in which capacity he had sat as a Peer of England, and therefore a subject thereof. So that, upon full evidence, they were all sentenced by the court, to have their heads struck off for high treason, in levying war against the parliament of England. Earnest solicitations and petitions were made for them to the parliament; but they thought not fit to reprieve the Duke, the Earl of Holland, or the Lord Capel. Touching the Lord Goring, the house was equally divided; and the Speaker having upon such occasions the determining voice, gave it for his reprieve. Commissary-General Ireton observing no motion made for Sir John Owen, moved the house to consider that he was a Commoner; and therefore more properly to have been tried in another way by a jury. Whereupon the house reprieved him also. The other three were executed a day or two after in the new palace-yard before Westminster-hall, in pursuance of a warrant signed by the court to that purpose; the parliament refusing to hearken to the Earl of Denbigh, who proposed on the behalf of Duke Hamilton his brother-in-law, to give them a blank signed by the said Duke, to answer faithfully to such questions as should be there inserted.

The parliament having resolved to constitute a council of state, the better to carry on the executive part of the government, authorised five of their members to agree upon the number and persons

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perſons of ſuch as they thought fit to be propoſed to the parliament for their approbation. The five impowered to this end by the parliament, were, Mr. John Liſle, Mr. Cornelius Holland, Mr. Luke Robinſon, Mr. Thomas Scot, and me; who though ſenſible of my unfitneſs for ſo great a work, and of the envy it would be attended with, yet being required by my country to aſſiſt in this ſervice, I reſolved to uſe the beſt of my endeavours therein. The number agreed upon was thirty five; which we filled up with ſuch perſons as we thought beſt qualified with integrity, and abilities ſuitable to ſo important a ſtation. Four of them were Lords, and the reſt Commoners. The houſe agreed to our report, only they were pleaſed to add us five to the number propoſed by us. The parliament being deſirous to exclude from their places thoſe who were likely to undo what they had done, and yet unwilling to loſe the aſſiſtance of many honeſt men, who had been in the country during the late tranſactions, paſſed an order, That ſuch members as had not ſat ſince the trial of the King, ſhould not be admitted to ſit, till the houſe ſhould be particularly ſatisfied concerning them; appointing the former five, or any three of them, to be a committee to receive ſatisfaction touching the affections to the public intereſt of every member who had not ſat ſince the time aforeſaid, and the reaſons of his abſence; and to make their report to the parliament concerning them.

Prince Charles finding his affairs in England to be in a deſperate condition, concluded an agreement with the Iriſh rebels, granting them full indemnity for what they had hitherto acted, and

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and encouraging them to carry on their cruelties againſt the Engliſh by his commiſſion. The Lord Inchiquin had already declared for him, and joined with the Iriſh rebels. The Earl of Ormond was diſpatched to Ireland for the ſame purpoſe; and as a pledge that Prince Charles would follow, his baggage and horſes were ſent thither before.

The Scots fearing their clergy would not be permitted long to inſult over the people, expreſſed themſelves highly diſſatisfied with our proceedings in England; and choſe rather to eſpouſe the intereſt of Prince Charles, than to enjoy the fruit of what they had contended for againſt his father; publicly declaring, that they were obliged by the covenant to promote the government of a King, Lords, and Commons; which government the parliament of England had thought fit to alter. We endeavoured to ſatisfy their commiſſioners, by ſhewing them the reaſons of our late reſolutions: but they refuſing to hear them, returned home to their own country; where they found things diſpoſed to an accommodation with Prince Charles, upon preſumption, that when, by his aſſiſtance, they had deſtroyed the Sectarian party, as they called them, they ſhould be able to govern him well enough. But he, ſuppoſing he had an eaſier part to act with the Iriſh, whoſe principles were more ſuitable to his inclinations, refuſed to hearken to them at that time.

Col. Edward Popham, Col. Richard Dean, and Col. Robert Blake, were appointed by the parliament to command the fleet; the latter being deſigned with a ſquadron to cruiſe upon the Iriſh coaſt, in order to meet and fight the ſhips commanded

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commanded by Prince Rupert. Col. Popham was sent towards Lisbon to intercept the Portugal fleet coming home from their islands; because they had protected some ships that had revolted from us, and sheltered them from our fleet that was in pursuit of them, and had offered some affronts to our agent Mr. Vane, who was sent thither to endeavour a right understanding between the two nations. Gen. Dean, with another squadron, was ordered to remain for the service of the channel. This they did, well understanding how great reputation a considerable fleet would give to their affairs, and of what importance it is to this nation always to guard the seas, and more particularly in that conjuncture.

The parliament much inclining to preserve a good correspondence with the States-General of the United Provinces, sent Dr. Dorislaus into Holland, to be their agent there; who, a little after his arrival at the Hague, was assaulted by about ten assassins, English and Scots, who broke into his lodgings, and murdered him. And though this action was so infamous, and contrary to the right of nations; yet the Dutch were not very forward to find out the criminals, in order to bring them to justice.

Mr. Ascham, who was sent into Spain with a public character also, was used in the like manner, by three persons coming to his house at Madrid; where, pretending to be English merchants, they were admitted; and, as he saluted the first of them, was struck into the head by him with a poinard; and his secretary endeavouring to make his escape, was killed with him. The murderers took sanctuary in a church: but,

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by an order of state, they were forced from thence, and committed to prison; of which the churchmen loudly complained, after their usual manner, as an injurious violation of their immunities. The squadron commanded by Col. Blake being first ready, set sail for the Irish coast; where Prince Rupert thinking himself not in a condition to fight him, retired with his ships into the harbour of Kinsale, under the protection of the fort. Col. Popham was next dispatched with his squadron for Portugal; and was pleased to employ a brother of mine as Lieutenant of that ship which was commanded by himself. The Spanish Ambassador was the first that made application to us from any foreign state. But the parliament not being satisfied with the address of his credentials, refused to receive them, till it should be directed, *To the parliament of the commonwealth of England*; declaring, that though they did not affect any flattering titles, yet they resolved to have their authority owned by all those who made their addresses to them. With which the court of Spain being made acquainted, the Ambassador received instructions from the King his master to that end, and framed the direction according to our desires.

Our affairs beginning to acquire reputation, and to carry a fair probability of success, divers members of parliament who had been long absent, addressed themselves to the committee before mentioned, in order to their admission to sit in parliament; and some of them would not scruple to give any satisfaction that was desired to the questions proposed unto them; which were, "Whether they joined in, or approved "that

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" that vote, declaring the King's conceſſions a " ground for a future ſettlement? Whether they " approved of the proceedings againſt the King? " and, Whether they would engage to be true to " a commonwealth-government?" But we apprehending ſuch extraordinary expulſions as had been lately uſed, to be extremely hazardous to the public ſafety, made it our endeavour to keep thoſe from a readmiſſion who might neceſſitate another occaſion of uſing the like remedy. And therefore, though all poſſible ſatisfaction were given in words, we did, by weighing the former deportment of every particular member who preſented himſelf, deſire to be in ſome meaſure aſſured, that they would be true to what they promiſed in caſe the commonwealth-intereſt ſhould come to be diſputed, before we would report their condition to the houſe. Some of the houſe of Lords having procured themſelves to be choſen by the people, ſat in parliament upon the foot of their election. In which number was Philip Earl of Pembroke; who, being choſen by the freeholders of the county of Berks, upon his admiſſion to the houſe, ſigned the engagement, as the reſt of the members who ſat there had done: the contents of which was, " To be true and faithful to the commonwealth, " as it was eſtabliſhed, without a King, or houſe " of Lords." The ſame engagement was taken by the Earl of Saliſbury and the Lord Edward Howard, when they took their places in parliament, after they had been elected to ſerve there.

Whilſt we were thus providing for our ſecurity in England, our affairs in Ireland had not the ſame ſucceſs; the Earl of Ormond having reconciled the Engliſh in Munſter to the ſupreme

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council of the Iriſh rebels, the Scots alſo in the north falling in with them againſt us; with whom ſome Gentlemen of thoſe parts joined, though they had engaged themſelves to the contrary. Yet one thing happened tending very much to the preſervation of Dublin, and thoſe few places that were kept for the parliament; which was, That Owen Roe O Neal, who was General of the old Iriſh, as they were termed, could by no means be brought to a conjunction with the Engliſh. Sir Charles Coote being beſieged in Londonderry, agreed to ſupply the beſiegers with powder, upon their engaging to furniſh him with ſuch proviſions as he wanted; which was performed on both ſides. And the Lord Inchiquin, who was beſieging Dundalk, promiſed to do the like for Col. Monk, who then commanded in that place, upon the ſame conditions; which was performed on Monk's part. But as his men were carrying off the ammunition, they were fallen upon by a party of Inchiquin's horſe, the ammunition taken away, and many of them killed. The Scots drawing about Dundalk, moſt of the garriſon revolted to them. Whereupon Monk delivered up the place, upon condition that he ſhould be permitted to return into England; where being arrived, he met with a cold reception from the parliament, upon ſuggeſtion, that he had correſponded with the Iriſh rebels.

About this time an agent from Owen Roe O Neal came privately to London, and found out a way to acquaint the council of ſtate, that if they thought fit to grant him a ſafe conduct, he would make ſome propoſitions to them that would be for their ſervice. The council, to avoid

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void any misconstruction of their actions, refused to hear him; but appointed a committee to speak with him; of which I was one, ordering us to report to them what he should propose. His proposition was, That the party commanded by O Neal should submit to, and act for the parliament, if they might obtain indemnity for what was passed, and assurance of the enjoyment of their religion and estates for the time to come. We asked him, Why they made application to us, after they had refused to join with those who had been in treaty with the King? He answered, That the King had broken his word with them: for though they had deserved well of him, and he had made them many fair promises; yet, when he could make better terms with any other party, he had been always ready to sacrifice them. We asked him farther, Why they had not made their application sooner? He told us, Because such men had been possessed of the power who had sworn their extirpation; but that now it was believed to be the interest of those in authority to grant liberty of conscience; promising, that, if such liberty might be extended to them, they would be as zealous for a commonwealth as any other party; instancing in many countries where they were so. We informed him, That it was our opinion, that the council would not promise indemnity to all that party, they being esteemed to have been the principal actors in the bloody massacre at the beginning of the rebellion; neither did we think, that they would grant them the liberty of their religion, believing it might prove dangerous to the public peace. The council, upon our report of what had passed at the conference, concurred with our opinion.

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So that having no more to do with the agent, he was required to depart within a limited time.

The Earl of Ormond, Gen. Preston, and the Lord Inchiquin, beginning to draw their forces towards Dublin, resolved first to reduce Tredah. In order to which, they sent Col. Worden thither with a strong detachment of horse and foot; who, attempting to take it by assault, entered with most of his men; but was beat out again by an inconsiderable number of ours. Notwithstanding which, the garrison wanting men to defend their works, their provisions also being almost consumed, was obliged to capitulate, and surrender, upon condition that the soldiers should have liberty to march to Dublin, the rest to return home, and to enjoy protection there.

Dundalk and Tredah being surrendered to the enemy, and Dublin threatened with a speedy siege by the forces of the Royalists and Irish, combined together for the destruction of the English; the parliament, taking into their serious consideration the deplorable state of their distressed friends, resolved to send them relief with all expedition. In the mean time the enemy marched towards Dublin, having sent a party of horse before to invest the place, and to prevent any relief from Meath side; upon whose approach Col. Jones, with the forces he had with him, was obliged to retire to Kilcullen. A party of horse from the town made a sally upon the enemy, and were repulsed with some loss: but being reinforced from England by a regiment of horse commanded by Col. Reynolds, and two regiments of foot, Col. Jones being also come into the town, they resolved upon a vigorous defence. Immediately after the landing of these supplies,

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ſupplies, Dublin was formally beſieged by the enemy; who had a great army, provided with all neceſſaries for the carrying on of the ſiege, and furniſhed by the country with proviſions in great abundance; their head quarters being at Rathmims, a mile from Dublin, towards Wicklow. They took Rathfarnham by ſtorm; and ſent 1500 men to fortify Baggatrath, in order to hinder our army from landing at Ringſend, being within a quarter of a mile of it, and lying triangular with it and Dublin. Baggatrath had a rampart of earth about it; and the enemy had wrought upon it, to augment its ſtrength, a whole night before they were diſcovered. But the next morning Col. Jones, perceiving their deſign, concluded it abſolutely neceſſary to endeavour to remove them from thence before their works were finiſhed. To that end, he drew all his forces, both horſe and foot, to the works that faced the enemy; and leaving as many as he thought neceſſary for the defence of the town, ſallied out with the reſt, being between 4 and 5000; and, falling upon them, beat them from their works, killing Sir William Vaughan, who commanded them, and moſt of the men that were with him; cloſely purſuing the reſt, who fled towards their main army; where the Earl of Ormond thought fit at laſt to throw down his cards, which he had before refuſed to do, in contempt of our forces; and with his Royal army, as it was called, retreated in great diſorder towards Rathmims. Col. Jones purſued him cloſe, finding little oppoſition; except from a party of the Lord Inchiquin's horſe that had formerly ſerved the parliament, who defended a paſs for ſome time, but were, after ſome diſpute, broken, and

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forced to fly. Having routed these, he marched with all diligence up to the walls of Rathmims, which were about sixteen foot high, and contained about ten acres of ground, where many of the enemy's foot had shut up themselves; but perceiving their army to be entirely routed, and their General fled, they yielded themselves prisoners. After this our men continuing their pursuit, found a party of about 2000 foot of the Lord Inchiquin's, in a grove belonging to Rathgar; who, after some defence, obtained conditions for their lives; and the next day most of them took up arms in our service. This success was the more remarkable, because unexpected on both sides, our handful of men being led step by step to an absolute victory; whereas their utmost design, at the beginning of the action, was only to beat the enemy from Baggatrath; and so surprising to our enemies, that they had not time to carry off their money, which lay at Rathfarnham, for the paying of their army; where Col. Jones seized 4000 l. very seasonably for the payment of his men.

The parliament having an army ready to send to Ireland, a formidable fleet to put to sea, another army to keep at home for their own defence, and a considerable force to guard the north against the Scots, who had declared themselves enemies, and waited only an opportunity of shewing it with advantage, thought themselves obliged to expose to sale such lands as had been formerly possessed by Deans and Chapters, that they might be enabled thereby to defray some part of that great charge that lay upon the nation. To this end, they authorised trustees to sell the said lands, provided they could do it at ten

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ten years purchaſe at the leaſt. But ſuch was the good opinion that the people had conceived of the parliament, that moſt of thoſe lands were ſold at the clear income of fifteen, ſixteen, and ſeventeen years; one half of the ſums contracted for being paid down in ready money. Beſides which, the woods were valued diſtinctly, and to be paid for according to the valuation. All impropriations belonging to the ſaid Deans and Chapters, as well as thoſe of the Biſhops, either in poſſeſſion or reverſion, were reſerved from ſale, to enlarge the maintenance of poor Miniſters. Yet this was not ſufficient to reſtrain that generation of men from inveighing againſt the parliament, and conſpiring with their enemies both at home and abroad, to weaken their hands, and, if poſſible, to render them unable to carry on the public ſervice. The fee-farm rents formerly belonging to the crown, were alſo ſold. And yet ſuch was the neceſſity of affairs, that, notwithſtanding all this, the parliament found themſelves obliged to lay a tax of 120,000 l. a month upon the nation: which burden they bore for the moſt part without regret; being convinced that it was wholly applied to the uſe of the public, and eſpecially becauſe thoſe who impoſed it, paid an equal proportion with the reſt. The crown-lands were aſſigned to pay the arrears of thoſe ſoldiers who were in arms in the year 1647: which was done by the influence of the officers of the army that was in the preſent ſervice; whereby they made proviſion for themſelves, and neglected thoſe who had appeared for the parliament at the firſt, and had endured the heat and burden of the day.

In the month of September 1649, the army imbarked

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imbarked and set sail for Ireland; Commissary-General Ireton with one part of them designing for Munster, and Lt-Gen. Cromwel, being appointed Lieutenant of Ireland, with the rest, for Dublin. But the wind blowing a strong gale from the south, they were both put into the bay of Dublin; where they were received with great joy. For though the enemy's army had been beaten from the siege of that place, and Col. Jones, with the small forces he had with him, had made the best improvement he could of that advantage, by reducing some garrisons that lay nearest to him; yet the enemy were still in possession of nine parts in ten of that nation, and had fortified the most considerable places therein. After our army had refreshed themselves, and were joined by the forces of Col. Jones, they mustered in all between 16 and 17,000 horse and foot. Upon their arrival, the enemy withdrew, and put most of their army into their garrisons; having placed 3 or 4000 of the best of their men, being mostly English, in the town of Tredah, and made Sir Arthur Ashton Governor thereof. A resolution being taken to besiege that place, our army sat down before it; and the Lieutenant-General caused a battery to be erected against an angle of the wall, near to a fort, which was within, called the *Windmill-fort*, by which he made a breach in the wall: but the enemy having a half-moon on the outside, which was designed to flank the angle of the wall, he thought fit to endeavour to possess himself of it; which he did by storm, putting most of those that were in it to the sword. The enemy defended the breach against ours from behind an earth-work, which they had cast up within, and

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where they had drawn up two or three troops of horse which they had within the town, for the encouragement and support of their foot. The fort also was not unserviceable to them in the defence of the breach. The Lieutenant-General well knowing the importance of this action, resolved to put all upon it; and having commanded some guns to be loaded with bullets of half a pound, and fired upon the enemy's horse, who were drawn up somewhat in view; himself, with a reserve of foot, marched up to the breach; which giving fresh courage to our men, they made a second attack with more vigour than before. Whereupon the enemy's foot, being abandoned by their horse, whom our shot had forced to retire, began to break, and shift for themselves. Which ours perceiving, followed them so close, that they overtook them at the bridge that lay cross the river, and separated that part where the action was from the principal part of the town; and, preventing them from drawing up the bridge, entered pell-mell with them into the place; where they put all they met with to the sword, having positive orders from the Lieutenant-General to give no quarter to any soldier. Their works and fort were also stormed and taken; and those that defended them, put to the sword also; and amongst them Sir Arthur Ashton, Governor of the place. A great dispute there was amongst the soldiers for his artificial leg, which was reported to be of gold; but it proved to be but of wood; his girdle being found to be the better booty, wherein 200 pieces of gold were found quilted. The slaughter was continued all that day and the next. Which extraordinary severity

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rity, I presume, was used to discourage others from making opposition. After that the army besieged Wexford: and having erected a battery against the castle, which stood near the wall of the town, and fired from it most part of the day, whereby a small breach was made; commissioners were sent in the evening from the enemy, to treat about the surrender of it. In the mean time our guns continued firing, there being no cessation agreed; whereby the breach in the castle being made wider, the guard that was appointed to defend it quitted their post: and thereupon some of our men entered the castle, and set up their colours at the top of it; which the enemy having observed, left their stations in all parts: so that ours getting over the walls, possessed themselves of the town without opposition; and opened the gates that the horse might enter; though they could do but little service, all the streets being barred with cables. But our foot pressed the enemy so close, that crouding to escape over the water, they so overloaded the boats with their numbers, that many of them were drowned. Great riches were taken in this town, it being accounted by the enemy a place of strength; and some ships were seized in the harbour, which had much interrupted the commerce of that coast. Commissioners were appointed by the Lieutenant-General to take care of the goods that were found in the town belonging to the rebels, that they might be improved to the best advantage of the public. After these successes the army grew sickly; many dying of the flux, which they contracted by hard service, and such provisions as they were not accustomed to. The plague also, which had been

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been for some time amongst the inhabitants of the country, and the Irish army, now began to seize upon ours. Of one or both these distempers Col. Michael Jones, who, by his courage and conduct in the service of his country, had justly deserved the applause of all, and had been lately made Lieutenant-General of the Horse by the parliament, fell so desperately sick, that, being no longer able to continue in the army, he was carried, not without reluctance, to Wexford; where in a few days he died, much lamented by the army, and by all that desired the prosperity of the English interest. In the mean time the parliament was careful to send money, recruits, and all manner of supplies necessary, to Ireland; which they were the better enabled to do by those great sums of money daily brought in by the purchasers of the lands of Deans and Chapters, which they thought fit, for the reasons before mentioned, to expose to sale: which as it was an advantage to the nation in general, by easing them of some part of their contributions, so was it no detriment to any of those purchasers who were heartily engaged in the public service; since if the tide should turn, and our enemies become prevalent, such persons were likely to have no better security for the enjoyment of their own paternal estates. Upon this consideration I contracted with the trustees commissionated by the parliament, for the manors of Eastknoel and Upton in the county of Wilts; wherein I employed that portion which I had received with my wife, and a greater sum arising from the sale of a part of my patrimonial estate.

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The winter approaching, and the season being very tempestuous, Gen. Blake was obliged to enter into harbour; by which means Prince Rupert, with the ships that were with him, having an opportunity to escape, set sail for Lisbon; where they were received and protected: but Gen. Popham, who had waited some time for the Portugal fleet bound thither from the islands, took eighteen of them loaden with sugars, and other valuable merchandizes; which he sent to England under a convoy, intrusting the conduct thereof to my brother, who, as I said before, was his Lieutenant, and died in his voyage homewards. With the rest he continued cruising on the coast of Portugal, attending Prince Rupert's fleet; which being drawn up under the protection of their guns, and most of the men on shore, ours took that occasion to seize one of their frigats, by surprising the watch, and keeping the rest of the men under deck; by which means they brought her off safe to the fleet.

Our army in Ireland, though much diminished by sickness, and harrassed by hard duty, continued their resolution to march into the enemy's quarters; where they reduced Rosse with little opposition. Goran also was surrendered to them, together with the officers of that place, by the soldiers of the garrison, upon promise of quarter for themselves; their officers being delivered at discretion, were shot to death. The next town they besieged, was Kilkenny, where there was a strong castle, and the walls of the town were indifferent good. Having erected a battery on the east-side of the wall, our artillery fired upon it for a whole day, without making any considerable breach; on the other side our men

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men were much annoyed by the enemy's ſhot from the walls and caſtle. But the garriſon, being admoniſhed by the examples made of their friends at Tredah and Wexford, thought fit to ſurrender the town timely, upon ſuch conditions as they could obtain; which was done accordingly. Youghall, Cork, and Kinſale, were delivered to the forces of the parliament, by the contrivance and diligence of ſome officers and well-affected perſons in thoſe places. And thereupon the Lieutenant-General ſent a detachment, under the command of the Lord Broghill, to their aſſiſtance, in caſe any thing ſhould be attempted by Inchiquin, or any other, to their diſturbance; whilſt he, with the reſt of the army, marched towards Clonmel. Being upon his march thither, he was met by the corporation of Feather, with a tender of their ſubmiſſion; wherewith the Lieutenant-General was ſo ſatisfied, the army being far advanced into the enemy's quarters, and having no place of refreſhment, that he promiſed to maintain them in the enjoyment of their privileges. Having left our ſick men here, he marched, and ſat down before Clonmel; one ſide of which was ſecured by a river, and the reſt of the town encompaſſed with a wall, that was well furniſhed with men to defend it. Our guns having made a breach in the wall, a detachment of our men was ordered to ſtorm: but the enemy, by the means of ſome houſes that ſtood near, and earth-works caſt up within the wall, made good their breach till night parted the diſpute; when the enemy, perceiving ours reſolved to reduce the place, beat a parley, and ſent out commiſſioners to treat. Articles were agreed and ſigned on both ſides;

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whereby it was concluded, That the town, with all the arms and ammunition therein, should be delivered by the next morning to such of our forces as should be appointed to receive the same. After this agreement was made and signed, the General was informed, that Col. Hugh O Neal, Governor of the place, with all the garrison, had marched out at the beginning of the night towards Waterford, before the commissioners came out to treat. It something troubled the commanders to be thus over-reached; but conditions being granted, they thought it their duty to keep them with the town. Dungarvan and Carrick were next reduced; where Col. Reynolds being left with his regiment of horse, the Lieutenant-General with the army marched towards the county of Waterford. The enemy, having observed ours marching on the other side of the river, took that advantage to draw together a considerable body of horse and foot; with which they marched with all diligence to Carrick, and stormed it, not at all doubting to carry the place; wherein there was nothing but horse, armed only with swords and pistols, to defend a wall of great compass: yet did our men manage their defence so well, making use of stones, and whatsoever might be serviceable to them, that the enemy was beaten off with loss; so that, though forces were sent from the army to relieve their friends upon the first notice of their danger, yet they found the work done at their arrival.

The army began now to prepare for the siege of Waterford; but, by the hard service of this winter, and other accidents, being much diminished, and those that remained being but in a sickly

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sickly condition, it was thought fit to send orders to Dublin, requiring the forces there who were in better health to march towards Wexford, in order to reinforce the army before Waterford. The Lord Inchiquin, who had notice of their march, having formed a body of 2500 horse, and some foot, resolved to fall upon them; which he did between Arclo and Wexford, our forces not amounting to more than 1500 foot, and 500 horse. The enemy charged our horse with such fury and numbers, that they were forced to retreat to their foot; after which, falling upon our foot, they obliged them to retire to the rocks that were on the shore in great disorder. But some of our horse, with a part of our foot, rallying again, charged a body of their horse with such vigour, that they broke them, and killed many of them; amongst whom were divers considerable persons: which so discouraged the rest, that though they were the choicest of the enemy's men, and many of ours so distempered with the flux, that they were forced to fight with their breeches down; yet durst they not make any farther attempt against them, but drew off, and permitted ours to march to their designed rendezvous without any more interruption. By which it eminently appeared of what importance it is towards the obtaining success, to fight in the cause of our country: for these very men, as long as they were engaged with us, performed wonders against the rebels; and now being engaged with them, were almost as easily overcome as they had beaten the Irish before. And this was so visible even to the Irish themselves, that some time after, at a consultation of the chief officers of Leinster, where

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it was debated what course to take in order to destroy our army; some advising to draw into a body, and fight us; others to betake themselves to the woods and bogs, and from thence to break our forces by parties; the Lord of Glanmaleiro assured them of a way, which, if taken, would certainly effect it; and that was, to induce us to make peace with them. "For, said "he, they are a successful army, and our men "are dispirited, and not likely to get any thing "by fighting with them: and to weary them "out by our surprises and depredations, is im- "possible, as long as the way from England is "open for their supplies. But the other way "proposed will infallibly ruin them. For did "not our ancestors, by the same means, render "the conquests of Q. Elisabeth fruitless to Eng- "land? and have we not thereby ruined the "Earl of Ormond and Inchiquin already, who, "having been always successful when against us, "have been famous for nothing since their con- "junction with us, but the losses and repulses "which they have sustained? So that if we can "persuade this army to make a truce or league "with us, they will become as unfortunate as "the former."

Whilst the Lieutenant-General was making preparations for the siege of Waterford, a letter was brought to him from the parliament, requiring his attendance in England. In order to which, he left the command of the army with Commissary-General Ireton, to carry on the remaining part of the work; going himself to visit those places in Munster which had lately submitted to the parliament, with intention to settle the civil as well as military affairs of that province. To this end, he impowered John Coke, Esq;

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Esq; to be Chief Justice of Munster; and, having accomplished such things as he designed, imbarked for England, and soon after landed at Bristol. In the mean time, the treaty between Prince Charles and the Presbyterian party in Scotland hastening towards a conclusion, the forces which they had raised by the encouragement of our army, after they had rescued them from the power of the Hamiltonian party, fell upon Montrose, killed many of his men, and took him, with divers other officers, prisoners; and, amongst them, Maj.-Gen. Hurry, and Capt. Spottiswoode, who was said to have been concerned in the assassination of Dr. Dorislaus, our agent in Holland. They were all three condemned to death, and hanged; Montrose being carried to the place of execution in an ignominious manner, with the declarations issued out by him for the King tied about his neck; where he was executed on a gibbet of thirty foot high. His quarters were placed upon the gate through which their King was to pass at his coming to Edinburgh: which could not but move his indignation, if he had the least sense of honour; because he had acted by his commission, and in order to vest him with that absolute and uncontroulable power which Kings think to be most for their advantage. But the King, being instructed with other maxims, struck up the bargain with the Presbyterians, and engaged to take the covenant; whereupon they cried him up for a great convert.

Some sycophants in the English parliament, a race of men never wanting in great councils, pressed earnestly for settling 2500 l. a-year upon the Lieutenant-General, according to a vote for-

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merly passed in the house; or that it might at least be read once or twice before his arrival at Westminster, he being then upon his way from Bristol. Upon this motion, I took the liberty to acquaint the house, that though I would not oppose that motion, yet it was but reasonable to make good their promises also to persons that had served them usefully on former occasions; desiring them to remember the past services of those that they knew continued still to be faithful to them, though not then in actual employment; and, particularly, not to forget the important services of Maj.-Gen. Skippon, nor the vote they had passed, to settle 1000 l. a-year upon him, which hitherto had been insignificant to him. Upon this motion, the parliament ordered, that the said sum should be paid yearly to him out of the receipt at Goldsmiths-hall, till so much should be settled upon him out of the forfeited lands in Ireland by act of parliament. In consideration of this piece of justice, the Major-General did me ever after the honour to call me his real friend.

And now the parliament, being desirous to let the people see that they designed not to perpetuate themselves, after they should be able to make a compleat settlement of affairs, and provide for the security of the nation from enemies both abroad and at home, whom they had yet in great numbers to contend with, resolved, That the house would, upon every Wednesday, turn themselves into a grand committee, to debate concerning the manner of assembling, and power of future successive parliaments; the number of persons to be appointed to serve for each county, that the nation might be more equally represented

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preſented than hitherto had been practiſed; and touching the qualifications of the electors, as well as thoſe to be elected. Which order was conſtantly obſerved, and conſiderable progreſs from time to time made therein.

The Lieutenant-General being arrived, and having reſumed his place in the houſe, the parliament ordered their Speaker to give him thanks in their name for the ſervices he had done for the commonwealth in the nation of Ireland. And now the council of ſtate concluding it highly neceſſary to make ſome preparations againſt the ſtorm which threatened us from the north, and knowing that the ſatisfaction of their General was of great importance to that ſervice, deſired the Lord Fairfax to declare his reſolution concerning the ſame; who, after a day or two's conſideration, at the inſtigation chiefly (as was thought) of his wife, upon whom the Preſbyterian clergy had no ſmall influence, ſeemed unwilling to march into Scotland; but declared, that in caſe the Scots ſhould attempt to invade England, he would be ready to lay down his life in oppoſing them. We laboured to perſuade him of the reaſonableneſs and juſtice of our reſolution to march into Scotland; they having already declared themſelves our enemies; and, by public proteſtation, bound themſelves to impoſe that government upon us, which we had found neceſſary to aboliſh; and to that end had made their terms with Prince Charles, waiting only an opportunity, as ſoon as they had ſtrengthened themſelves by foreign aſſiſtance, which they expected, to put their deſign in execution, after we ſhould be reduced to great difficulties incident to the keeping up of an army in expectation of being

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ing invaded by them: assuring him, that we thought ourselves indispensably obliged, in duty to our country, and as we tender the peace and prosperity of it, as well as to prevent the effusion of the blood of those who had been, and we hoped upon better information would be our friends, to march into Scotland, and either to understand from them that they are our friends, or to endeavour to make them so; chusing rather to make that country the seat of the war than our own. But the Lord Fairfax was unwilling to alter his resolution in consideration of any thing that could be said. Upon this Lt-Gen. Cromwel pressed, that, notwithstanding the unwillingness of the Lord Fairfax to command upon this occasion, they would yet continue him to be General of the army; professing for himself, that he would rather chuse to serve under him in his post, than to command the greatest army in Europe. But the council of state not approving that advice, appointed a committee of some of themselves to confer farther with the General in order to his satisfaction. This committee was appointed upon the motion of the Lieutenant-General, who acted his part so to the life, that I really thought him in earnest: which obliged me to step to him, as he was withdrawing with the rest of the committee out of the council-chamber, and to desire him, that he would not, in compliment and humility, obstruct the service of the nation by his refusal. But the consequence made it sufficiently evident that he had no such intention. The committee having spent some time in debate with the Lord Fairfax without any success, returned to the council of state; whereupon they ordered the report

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port of this affair to be made to the parliament. Which being done, and some of the General's friends informing them, that though he had shewed some unwillingness to be employed in this expedition himself; yet being more unwilling to hinder the undertaking of it by another, he had sent his secretary, who attended at the door, to surrender his commission, if they thought fit to receive it. The secretary was called in, and delivered the commission: which the parliament having received, they proceeded to settle an annual revenue of 5000 l. upon the Lord Fairfax, in consideration of his former services; and then voted Lt-Gen. Cromwel to be Captain-General of all their land-forces, ordering a commission forthwith to be drawn up to that effect, and referred to the council of state to hasten the preparations for the northern expedition. A little after, as I sat in the house near Gen. Cromwel, he told me, That having observed an alteration in my looks and carriage towards him, he apprehended that I had entertained some suspicions of him; and that being persuaded of the tendency of the designs of us both to the advancement of the public service, he desired that a meeting might be appointed, wherein we might with freedom discover the grounds of our mistakes and misapprehensions, and create a good understanding between us for the future. I answered, That he had discovered in me what I had never perceived in myself; and that if I troubled him not so frequently as formerly, it was either because I was conscious of that weight of business that lay upon him, or that I had nothing to importune him withal upon my own or any other account: yet, since he was pleased

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to do me the honour to desire a free conversation with me, I assured him of my readiness therein. Whereupon we resolved to meet that afternoon in the council of state, and from thence to withdraw to a private room; which we did accordingly in the Queen's guard-chamber; where he endeavoured to persuade me of the necessity incumbent upon him to do several things that appeared extraordinary in the judgment of some men, who, in opposition to him, took such courses as would bring ruin upon themselves, as well as him and the public cause; affirming his intentions to be directed entirely to the good of the people, and professing his readiness to sacrifice his life in their service. I freely acknowledged my former dissatisfaction with him and the rest of the army, when they were in treaty with the King, whom I looked upon as the only obstruction to the settlement of the nation; and with their actions at the rendezvous at Ware, where they shot a soldier to death, and imprisoned divers others upon the account of that treaty; which I conceived to have been done without authority, and for sinister ends: yet since they had manifested themselves convinced of those errors, and declared their adherence to the commonwealth, though too partial a hand was carried both by the parliament and themselves in the distribution of preferments and gratuities, and too much severity exercised against some who had formerly been their friends, and as I hoped would be so still, with other things that I could not entirely approve; I was contented patiently to wait for the accomplishment of those good things which I expected, till they had overcome the difficulties they now laboured

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boured under, and ſuppreſſed their enemies that appeared both at home and abroad againſt them; hoping that then their principles and intereſt ſhould lead them to do what was moſt agreeable to the conſtitution of a commonwealth, and the good of mankind. He owned my diſſatisfaction with the army whilſt they were in treaty with the King, to be founded upon good reaſons; and excuſed the execution done upon the ſoldier at the rendezvous, as abſolutely neceſſary to keep things from falling into confuſion; which muſt have enſued upon that diviſion, if it had not been timely prevented. He profeſſed to deſire nothing more, than that the government of the nation might be ſettled in a free and equal commonwealth; acknowledging that there was no other probable means to keep out the old family and government from returning upon us; declaring, that he looked upon the deſign of the Lord in this day, to be the freeing of his people from every burden; and that he was now accompliſhing what was propheſied in the 110th pſalm, from the conſideration of which, he was often encouraged to attend the effecting thoſe ends; ſpending at leaſt an hour in the expoſition of that pſalm; adding to this, that it was his intention to contribute the utmoſt of his endeavours to make a thorough reformation of the clergy and law. But, ſaid he, the ſons of Zeruiah are yet too ſtrong for us; and we cannot mention the reformation of the law, but they preſently cry out, we deſign to deſtroy propriety; whereas the law, as it is now conſtituted, ſerves only to maintain the lawyers, and to encourage the rich to oppreſs the poor: affirming, that Mr. Coke, then Juſtice in Ireland, by proceeding in

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a ſummary and expeditious way, determined more cauſes in a week, than Weſtminſter-hall in a year; ſaying farther, That Ireland was as a clean paper in that particular, and capable of being governed by ſuch laws as ſhould be found moſt agreeable to juſtice; which may be ſo impartially adminiſtred, as to be a good precedent even to England itſelf; where when they once perceive propriety preſerved at an eaſy and cheap rate in Ireland, they will never permit themſelves to be ſo cheated and abuſed as now they are. At laſt he fell into the conſideration of the military government of Ireland, complaining that the whole weight of it lay upon Maj.-Gen. Ireton; and that if he ſhould by death, or any other accident, be removed from that ſtation, the conduct of that part would probably fall into the hands of ſuch men, as either by principle or intereſt were not proper for that truſt, and of whom he had no certain aſſurance. He therefore propoſed, that ſome perſon of reputation and known fidelity might be ſent over to command the horſe there, and to aſſiſt the Major-General in the ſervice of the public, that employment being next in order to his own; deſiring me to propoſe one whom I thought ſufficiently qualified for that ſtation. I told him, That, in my opinion, a fitter man could not be found than Col. Algernon Sidney. But he excepted againſt him, by reaſon of his relation to ſome who were in the King's intereſt; propoſing Col. Norton and Col. Hammond; yet making objections againſt them at the ſame time. That againſt Col. Hammond I remember was, That, by his late deportment with relation to the King, he had ſo diſobliged the army, that he apprehended

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headed he would not be acceptable to them. After this he entered upon a large commendation of the country, and preſſed me earneſtly to think of ſome perſon capable of that employment. By this time I perceived ſomething of his intentions concerning me: but the condition of my affairs was ſuch, having lately married, and, by purchaſing ſome lands, contracted a great debt, that I reſolved not to accept of it.

The time for the General's departure for the expedition to Scotland drawing near, he moved the council of ſtate, that ſince they had employed him about a work which would require all his care, they would be pleaſed to eaſe him of the affairs of Ireland: which they refuſing to do, he then moved, that they would at leaſt ſend over ſome commiſſioners for the management of the civil affairs; aſſuring them alſo, that the military being more than Maj.-Gen. Ireton could poſſibly carry on, without the aſſiſtance of ſome general officer to command the horſe, which employment was become vacant by the death of the brave Lt-Gen. Jones, it was abſolutely neceſſary to commiſſionate ſome perſon of worth to that employment, and to authoriſe him to be one of their commiſſioners for the civil government; telling them, that he had endeavoured to find out a perſon proper for that ſervice; and to that end had conſulted with one there preſent, deſiring him to recommend one fit for the ſame; but that neither of them had propoſed any that he could approve ſo well as the perſon himſelf; and therefore moved, that he might be appointed to that employment; acquainting them, that though he himſelf was impowered, by virtue of his commiſſion from the parliament, to nomi-

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nate the Lieutenant-General of the horſe; yet, becauſe the Gentleman he propoſed, upon which he named me, was a member of parliament, and of the council of ſtate, he deſired, for the better ſecuring the obedience of the army to me, that the parliament might be moved to nominate and appoint me to that charge. I endeavoured, as well as I could, to make the council ſenſible of my unfitneſs for an employment of ſo great importance; acquainting them, that, upon the General's deſire, I had recommended one to him of ſuch abilities, as I doubted not they would judge better qualified for it than myſelf; who, beſides my want of experience ſufficient for that ſervice, was ſo incumbered with debts and engagements at that time, that I could not poſſibly undertake it without hazarding the ruin of my family and eſtate. But the council refuſed to allow my excuſe, which indeed was real and unfeigned; telling me, that it would be more proper to repreſent thoſe things to the parliament, when the report ſhould be made to them from the council: which was agreed upon to this effect: "That the houſe ſhould be moved to appoint me Lieutenant-General of the Horſe in Ireland; and that Gen. Cromwel, Maj.-Gen. Ireton, myſelf, Col. John Jones, and Maj. Richard Salloway, or any three of us, ſhould be authoriſed by act of parliament to be commiſſioners for the adminiſtration of the civil affairs in that nation." The news of this tranſaction was unwelcome to ſome of my neareſt relations and beſt friends; not only for the reaſons above mentioned, but upon ſuſpicion that this opportunity was taken by the General to remove me out of the way, leſt I ſhould prove an obſtruction

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obstruction to his designs. But I could not think myself so considerable, and therefore could not concur with them in that opinion. Yet I endeavoured to clear myself of this employment; and knowing that this affair was carried on chiefly by the General's Influence, I applied myself to him; acquainting him with my present circumstances, and assuring him that it was altogether inconvenient, and might prove very prejudicial to me. He replied, That mens private affairs must give place to those of the public; that he had seriously considered the matter, and that he could not find a person so fit for those employments as myself; desiring me therefore to acquiesce. It was not many days before the council of state made their report of this affair to the parliament; where I again pressed the reasons I had used before to the council, with as much earnestness as I could: but they would not hearken to me, and without any debate, presently concurred with the council therein; with the addition only of Mr. John Weaver, a member of the house, to be one of the commissioners appointed to manage the civil government.

In the mean time our army proceeded successfully in Ireland; where they reduced Waterford, after a siege of some weeks; which place the enemy had considerably fortified; but their provisions failing, they were forced to surrender it upon articles. During this siege the army was supplied with all necessaries by some of our ships that came into the harbour to that end. After the reduction of Waterford, a detachment was made from our army to besiege Duncannon, a place of considerable strength, having 700 men within to defend it, though one third of

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their number had been sufficient for that purpose. This, or some other cause, produced the plague amongst them; which lessened their number, and made their provisions to hold out the longer: yet at last they were constrained to deliver up the place, with all the arms and ammunition, to our men. The Lord of Esmond had been Governor of this place for the English at the beginning of the war; and held it out for the space of six or seven months against the rebels, of whom he killed great numbers before it during the siege that he sustained: but being driven to great extremities, he was obliged to surrender it to them; which went so near the gallant old Gentleman's heart, that he soon after departed this life.

The next place our army attempted, was Carlo, an inland garrison, distant from Dublin about thirty miles, and lying upon the river Barrow. The place was esteemed by the enemy to be of great importance, and therefore fortified by them with divers works. Besides, it had a small castle at the foot of the bridge, and a river running under the walls of the castle. The country beyond it were also their friends, and furnished them with provisions in great abundance. To prevent which, Maj.-Gen. Ireton found it necessary to employ the principal part of his forces on the other side of the river Barrow; yet by what means to secure a communication between the two parts of his army, was a great difficulty, they having neither boats nor casks sufficient for that purpose. In the end they fell upon this expedient, to bring together great quantities of the biggest reeds, and, tying them up in many little bundles, with small cords, they fastened

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fastened them to two cables that were fixed in the ground on each side of the river, at the distance of about eight or ten yards from each other. These being covered with wattles, bore troops of horse, and companies of foot, as well as a bridge arched with stone.

Whilst these things were doing, most of the Earl of Ormond's forces retired into Connaught, and those of the Lord Muskerry into Kerry. The Lord Castlehaven also, when he had fired most of the small castles in Leinster and Munster, marched out of those parts.

But the enemy which most threatened the disturbance of the parliament, was that of Scotland; where all interests were united in opposition to the present authority in England. They had also many who favoured their design in our nation, as well Presbyterians as cavaliers. The former of these were most bold and active, upon presumption of more favour in case of ill success. The parliament being sensible of these things, published a declaration, shewing, That they had no design to impose upon the nation of Scotland any thing contrary to their inclinations: that they would leave them to chuse what government they thought most convenient for themselves, provided they would suffer the English nation to live under that establishment which they had chosen: that it evidently appeared, that the Scots were acted by a spirit of domination and rule; and that nothing might be wanting to compel us to submit to their impositions, they had espoused the interests of that family which they themselves had declared guilty of much precious blood, and resolved to force the same upon England: that these, and other things

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there mentioned, had obliged them to send an army into Scotland for their own preservation, and to keep the Scots from destroying themselves, which they were about to do; resolving, notwithstanding, to extend all possible favour to such as were seduced through weakness, and misled by the malice of others. After this Gen. Cromwel hastened to the army, which consisted of about 20,000 horse and foot; where, having removed a Colonel or two, with some inferior officers, who were unwilling to be employed in that service, and made up a regiment for Col. Monk, with six companies out of Sir Arthur Haslerig's, and six out of Col. Fenwick's regiment, he marched into Scotland without any opposition, most of the people being fled from their habitations towards Edinburgh; whither all the enemy's strength was drawn together. The English army drew up within sight of the town. But the Scots would not hazard all by the decision of a battle; hoping to tire us out with frequent skirmishes, and harrassing our men, relying much upon the unsuitableness of the climate to our constitutions, especially if they should detain us in the field till winter. Their counsels succeeded according to their desires; and our army, through hard duty, scarcity of provisions, and the rigour of the season, grew very sickly, and diminished daily: so that they were necessitated to draw off, to receive supplies from our shipping, which could not come nearer to them than Dunbar, distant from Edinburgh about twenty miles. The enemy observing our army to retire, followed them close; and, falling upon our rear-guard of horse in the night, having the advantage of a clear moon, beat them up to our

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our rear-guard of foot. Which alarm coming ſuddenly upon our men, put them into ſome diſorder: but a thick cloud interpoſing in that very moment, and intercepting the light of the moon for about an hour, our army took that opportunity to ſecure themſelves, and arrived without any further diſturbance at Dunbar; where, having ſhipped their heavy baggage and ſick men, they deſigned to return into England. But the enemy, upon confidence of ſucceſs, had poſſeſſed themſelves of all the paſſes, having in their army about 30,000 horſe and foot, and ours being reduced to 10,000 at the moſt. There was now no way left, but to yield themſelves priſoners, or to fight upon theſe unequal terms. In this extremity, a council of war was called; and, after ſome diſpute, it was agreed to fall upon the enemy the next morning, about an hour before day. And accordingly the ſeveral regiments were ordered to their reſpective poſts. Upon the firſt ſhock, our forlorn of horſe was ſomewhat diſordered by their lanciers: but two of our regiments of foot that were in the van behaved themſelves ſo well, that they not only ſuſtained the charge of the enemy's horſe, but beat them back upon their own foot; and, following them cloſe, forced both horſe and foot to retreat up the hill from whence they had attacked us. The body of the enemy's army finding their van-guard, which conſiſted of their choiceſt men, thus driven back upon them, began to ſhift for themſelves; which they did with ſuch precipitation and diſorder, that few of them ventured to look behind them till they arrived at Edinburgh; taking no care of their King, who made uſe of the ſame means to ſecure himſelf as his

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his new subjects had done. One party of their horse made a stand till some of ours came up to them, and then ran away after the rest of their companions. Many were killed upon the place, and many more in the pursuit. All their baggage, arms, artillery, and ammunition, fell into the hands of our army. Many also were taken, and sent prisoners into England. When the first news of this great victory was brought to London by Sir John Hipsley, it was my fortune, with others of the parliament, to be with the Lord Fairfax at Hampton-court, who seemed much to rejoice at it. But the victory itself was not more welcome to me than the contents of the General's letter to the parliament; wherein, amongst many other expressions savouring of a public spirit, there was one to this effect: That seeing the Lord, upon this solemn appeal made to him by the Scots and us, had so signally given judgment on our side, when all hopes of deliverance seemed to be cut off, it became us not to do his work negligently; and from thence took occasion to put us in mind, not to content ourselves with the name of a commonwealth, but to do real things for the common good; and not to permit any interest for their particular advantage to prevail with us to the contrary. Our army in Scotland having received some recruits, advanced towards Edinburgh. But the enemy, being informed of their march, withdrew out of the town; and, leaving a strong garrison in the castle, retreated towards Stirling. The parliament, being very careful to supply their armies with all things necessary, caused great quantities of hay to be bought up in Norfolk and Suffolk; which they sent by sea to Scotland, where it was absolutely

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absolutely necessary: for the Scots army had so strongly intrenched themselves by the advantage of a wood, that ours could not possibly attack them without great hazard; and they were furnished with provisions from Fife, and the adjacent parts, which are most fruitful in that nation, by means of the bridge at Stirling: whereas our army, which lay incamped near them, had no other country from whence they might draw provisions, but such as had been already in the possession of the enemy. Besides that, hay is generally scarce in Scotland; and that a great part of our forces consisted of horse.

Owen Roe O Neal, who commanded the old northern Irish in Ulster, that had been principally concerned in the massacre of the Protestants, being dead, the Popish Bishop of Clogher undertook the conduct of them; and, being grown considerably strong, necessitated Sir Charles Coote to draw his forces together to defend his quarters, which they designed to invade, desperately resolving to put it to the issue of a battle. Their foot was more numerous than ours; but Sir Charles exceeded them in horse. The dispute was hot for some time; but at last the Irish were beaten, though not without loss on our side; amongst others Col. Fenwick, a brave and gallant man, was mortally wounded. The enemy's baggage and train of artillery was taken, though not many made prisoners, being for the most part put to the sword, with the Bishop of Clogher their General; whose head was cut off, and set upon one of the gates of Londonderry. The news of this defeat being brought to those in Carlo, who had held out in hopes of relief from their friends in Ulster, together with

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a great ſcarcity of proviſions in the place, beſides the beating down of the little caſtle that ſtood at the foot of the bridge on the other ſide of the river, which happened about the ſame time, ſo diſcouraged thoſe within, that they ſurrendered the place to the Lord Deputy Ireton upon articles; which he cauſed punctually to be executed, as his conſtant manner was.

Purſuant to the order of parliament, appointing me Lieutenant-General of the Horſe in Ireland, the General, as he was directed by the ſaid order, ſent me a commiſſion to that end; which I received, and gave him an account of the reception; acquainting him alſo how ſenſible I was of my want of experience to manage ſo weighty an employment: but that, on the other hand, I would not fail to endeavour to diſcharge my duty with the utmoſt fidelity. He replied, That I might rely upon that God to carry me through the work, who had called me to it; and, in the cloſe of his letter, recommended the procuring from the parliament a ſettlement upon Sir Hardreſs Waller, of the inheritance of ſome lands which he then held by leaſe from the Earl of Ormond, and for which he paid 200 l. annual rent, as a thing that might be proper for me to do before my departure for Ireland. I was afterwards informed, that Sir Hardreſs Waller had earneſtly ſolicited for this employment of Lieutenant-General of the Horſe in Ireland; and that the General, not thinking it convenient to intruſt him with it, yet unwilling he ſhould know ſo much, perſuaded him to believe that the parliament had over-ruled him therein.

The parliament then paſſed an act, conſtitu-

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ting commissioners for the administration of civil affairs in Ireland; and agreed upon instructions of sufficient latitude for them to act by, in particular to lay a tax on that nation not exceeding the sum of 30,000 l.; to give order for the distribution of justice, as near to the rules of the law as the necessity of the times would permit; and to consider of a method of proceeding in the courts of justice there, to be offered to the parliament for their approbation. The commissioners were those that I mentioned before; only Maj. Salloway desiring to be excused from that service, Mr. Miles Corbet, a member of parliament, was inserted in his room.

Some suspicions there were at this time, that the Presbyterian party in England, especially those about London, entertained a private correspondence with their brethren in Scotland; where, though that nation had received a great blow at Dunbar, yet it was resolved, that their King should be crowned, upon his taking the solemn league and covenant, and obliging himself thereby to endeavour the extirpation of Popery and Episcopacy. This action was performed with all the circumstances and solemnities that could be used in the condition of their affairs. The Nobility swore fidelity to him, and the Marquis of Argyll put the crown upon his head with his own hands. And now having a King like other nations, and a covenanting King too, they doubted not of success under his conduct; presuming, by this means, most certainly to retrieve all their losses and reputation. But the parliament, who had removed one King, was not frighted with the setting up of another; and therefore proceeded in the settlement of their affairs,

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fairs, both military and civil; and, to that end, ordered 1000 l. to be advanced to the commissioners of the civil affairs in Ireland, directing them to receive also 1000 l. yearly. They likewise gave orders for the payment of 1000 l. to me, by way of advance upon my pay as Lieutenant-General of the Horse, that I might be enabled to furnish myself with tents, horses, and other things necessary for that service. The committee of Irish affairs raised also a troop, consisting of 100 horse, to accompany me; and armed them with back, breast, head pieces, pistols, and musketoons, with two months pay advanced. The Lord Deputy Ireton's Lady, daughter to Gen. Cromwel, prepared to go over with us to her husband; who had removed his head quarters to Waterford; partly because he thought that place most convenient for the service, as the enemy then lay; and partly from some disgust conceived against Dublin, where the inhabitants had extorted unreasonable rates for their provisions, and other necessaries, sold to our army at their arrival there for the relief of Ireland. Therefore, resolving to pass through South-Wales, I hastened out of town before the rest of my company, in order to take leave of my friends in the west; and from thence going to Glamorganshire, I staid there with some relations of my wife, till the rest of the company came down.

Before I left the parliament, some difference happening between the Countess of Rutland and the Lord Edward Howard of Escrick; Col. Gell, who was a great servant of the Countess, informed Maj.-Gen. Harrison, that the Lord Edward Howard, being a member of parliament, and one

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one of the committee at Harberdashers-hall, had taken divers bribes for the excusing delinquents from sequestration, and easing them in their compositions; and that, in particular, he had received a diamond-hatband, valued at 800 l. from one Mr. Compton of Sussex; concerning which he could not prevail with any to inform the parliament. Maj.-Gen. Harrison, being a man of severe principles, and zealous for justice, especially against such as betrayed the public trust reposed in them, assured him, that if he could satisfy him that the fact was as he affirmed, he would not fail to inform the parliament of it: and, upon satisfaction received from the Colonel touching that matter, said in parliament, That though the honour of every member was dear to him, and of that Gentleman in particular, naming the Lord Howard, because he had so openly owned the interest of the commonwealth, as to decline his peerage, and to sit upon the foot of his election by the people; yet he loved justice before all other things, looking upon it to be the honour of the parliament, and the image of God upon them; that therefore he durst not refuse to lay this matter before them, though he was very desirous that the said Lord might clear himself of the accusation. The parliament, having received his information, referred the consideration of the matter to a committee; where it was fully examined: and, notwithstanding all the art of counsel learned in the law, who are very skilful at putting a good appearance upon a bad cause, and all the friends the Lord Howard could make, so just and equitable a spirit then governed, that the committee having represented the matter to the parliament

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as they found it to be, they discharged him from being a member of parliament, sent him to the Tower, and fined him 10,000 l.

About the beginning of January, the commissioners of parliament, the Lady Ireton, and myself, met at Milford, in order to imbark for Ireland; three men of war lying ready for us in the harbour, with several ships for the transportation of my troop, with our goods and horses. We came to Milford on Saturday: and on Monday following, the Lady Ireton, and the commissioners, set sail with a fair wind; leaving the Guinea frigate for me, and to be convoy to those vessels that were appointed to transport the horse, and other things; of which but one could be ready time enough to set sail with them, my troop being not yet mustered. The next day, Mr. Lort, by order of the committee of parliament, mustered my troop: so that I began to ship them on Wednesday in the afternoon; and on Thursday morning, they being all imbarked, we set sail; and though the weather proved very calm, we arrived the next day under the fort of Duncannon, near Waterford; where I understood, that the Lady Ireton and the commissioners had landed there the day before, and were gone to the Lord Deputy at Waterford.

Immediately after my arrival, I went to wait on the Lord Deputy Ireton; who was much surprised at my landing so soon after the rest of the company; and ordered good quarters to be assigned to my troop, that they might be refreshed before they entered upon duty. For it was observed, that the English horses were not so fit for service, till they had been seasoned for some time with the air and provisions of that country.

Having

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Having received advice, that the enemy was marched out of Connaught and Limerick, towards our quarters in Munſter, he drew a party of horſe and foot out of their winter-quarters, to which they had been lately ſent, and with them endeavoured to find out the enemy; who, upon his advance, retreated into their own quarters. The Deputy being returned, was very careful to prepare all things that were neceſſary for the army, that they might be ready to march into the field early the next ſpring; making proviſion of tents, arms, cloaths, and bread for the ſoldiers; ſending cannon, and ammunition of all ſorts, up the Shannon towards Limerick, by veſſels provided to that end; that being the firſt place which he deſigned to attack the following year, having in his laſt march, by putting garriſons into Caſtle-Conel, Kilmallock, and other places, blocked them up in ſome meaſure.

The commiſſioners of parliament, of whom the Deputy was one, ſpent a conſiderable time in debating and reſolving in what manner juſtice ſhould be adminiſtred for the preſent in each precinct, till the ſtate of affairs could be reduced into a more exact order; and accounting it moſt juſt, that thoſe who had the moſt immediate advantage by the war, ſhould bear the principal burden of it; they laid upon the nation of Ireland a tax proportionable to their ability: for the raiſing of which, together with the exciſe and cuſtoms that by our authority from the parliament we were impowered to impoſe, we appointed commiſſioners for the precincts of Dublin, Waterford, Cork, Clonmel, Kilkenny, and Ulſter; who were to proceed according to ſuch rules as they ſhould receive from time to

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time from the parliament's commissioners. The Governor of each precinct was appointed one of the commissioners of that precinct, Col. Hewetson being for Dublin, Sir Charles Coote and Col. Venables for Ulster, Col. Daniel Axtell for Kilkenny, Col. Zanchey for Clonmel, Col. Phaier for the county of Cork, and Col. Lawrence for the county of Waterford. They appointed Col. Thomas Herbert and Col. Markham to be inspectors over the rest, and to go from place to place to see that their instructions were put in execution. Commissioners were also appointed in the several precincts for the more equal distribution of justice. And a proclamation was published, forbidding the killing of lambs or calves for the year next ensuing, that the country might recover a stock again; which had been so exhausted by the wars, that many of the natives who had committed all manner of waste upon the possessions of the English, were driven to such extremities, that they starved with hunger: and I have been informed by persons deserving credit, that the same calamity fell upon them even in the first year of the rebellion, through the depredations of the Irish; and that they roasted men, and ate them, to supply their necessities. In conjunction with this evil they were also afflicted with the plague; which was supposed to have been brought amongst them by a ship from Spain, and bound to Galway; from whence the infection spread itself through most parts of the country, and amongst others had reached Waterford; where several died of it; and particularly a kinswoman of mine, who, having been driven out of Ireland with her husband and children at the break-

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ing out of the rebellion, took the opportunity to return thither with me; and died there, with one of her children, very ſuddenly, having dined with me the day before.

The ſpring approaching, we removed to Kilkenny; that place lying moſt convenient for the diſtribution of tents, cloaths, and all other things neceſſary for the uſe of the army. It was alſo near the enemy's quarters; and thereby thought moſt proper to favour any attempt againſt them from thence. Col. Reynolds, who returned from England with us, being made Commiſſary-General of the Horſe in Ireland, was ſent with a party into the King and Queen's County; and put a garriſon into Maryborough, appointing Maj. Owen to be Governor of the place. At his return it was agreed, that a detachment from Nenagh, where Col. Abbot commanded, another from Caſhil and thoſe parts, and a third from Kilkenny, ſhould march from their reſpective garriſons, and contrive it ſo as to fall upon the quarters of Col. Fitzpatrick at the ſame time; which were advantageouſly ſituated, encompaſſed with woods and bogs, and inacceſſible, except by three very narrow and difficult ways, by which they were ordered to attack him ſeparately. This enterprize was ſo well effected, that the place was taken, with many of the enemy's horſe, beſides a great number of men killed or made priſoners. At this time it happened, that Col. Axtell, than whom no man was better acquainted with the country of Ireland, was accuſed for not performing ſome conditions ſaid to have been promiſed to the enemy; who pretended, that, after they had ſurrendered upon aſſurance of mercy, they were all

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put to the sword, except a few who made their escape. The Colonel endeavoured to prove, that no conditions had been granted; that they were taken by force; and that they who had shewed no mercy, could not deserve to receive any. Though the proof was not clear, that he had promised them their lives; yet, because it appeared that some of the soldiers had thrown out some expressions tending that way to the enemy, the Deputy was so great a friend to justice, even where an enemy was concerned, that though Col. Axtell was a person extraordinarily qualified for the service of that conjuncture, he, together with the council of war, at which the commissioners of the parliament were also present, suspended him from his employment.

The Lord Broghill, who had conceived great hopes of obtaining the command of the horse, or at least to be made a general officer, well knowing his own merit, and thereupon thinking himself neglected, made his complaint to the Deputy in a letter directed to him, and sent unsealed in another to Adjutant-General Allen; wherein enumerating the services he had done, the losses he had sustained, and the slender encouragements he had received, he declared his resolution not to obey the commands of any other but of Gen. Cromwel and him. In answer to this, the Deputy by another letter acquainted him, that he was sorry to find such a spirit in him; and particularly that he should discover it at such a time, when the season for action was drawing on; desiring him to come to the head quarters, that they might confer together touching this matter. At his coming, the Deputy consulted with the commissioners what course to take

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take in this affair. I excuſed myſelf to them from giving my advice, (his principal objection being againſt me); telling them, I was convinced that he had ſome ground for his diſſatisfaction, by reaſon of his intereſt and experience in the country; I being in thoſe reſpects much inferior to him, and ſhould not have had the confidence to have undertaken the employment I poſſeſſed, but in pure obedience to thoſe who we in authority. The Deputy aſſured me, that they were abundantly ſatisfied with the clearneſs of my proceeding, and no leſs of my abilities to diſcharge the truſt repoſed in me, and to perform the duties of my employments; of which, he was pleaſed to ſay, I had given ſufficient demonſtration, as well as of a conſtant and hearty affection to the public intereſt. In concluſion, the debate concerning the Lord Broghill was brought to this queſtion, Whether he ſhould be wholly laid aſide? or, Whether ſomething ſhould be done in order to content him for the preſent, by conferring upon him ſome office of profit, and the title of a general officer? The latter was agreed upon, and he declared Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance in Ireland.

The commiſſioners having ſettled affairs as well as they could, and finding the Deputy to be employed in making all neceſſary preparations for the enſuing ſervice, took that opportunity to go to regulate affairs at Dublin; where after they had diſpatched the public buſineſs, in which they ſpent about a week, and provided houſes to receive their families when they ſhould arrive from England, they returned to Kilkenny. The enemy, who had a party of horſe in thoſe parts, had

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had designed to surprise them in their way to Dublin, and again in their return to us; but finding them attended by a strong guard, they durst not venture to attempt it.

The enemy's forces being retreated into Connaught, which province was covered by the Shannon, and keeping strong guards upon the bridges and fords of that river, the reduction of Limerick could not well be expected till we had blocked them up on both sides. In order to which, it was resolved, that Sir Charles Coote, who had with him between 4 and 5000 horse and foot, should march into Connaught, by the way of Ballyshannon, a passage on the side of Ulster, not far distant from the sea; and Commissary-General Reynolds was sent with his regiment of horse to his assistance.

Col. Axtell and some others about this time going for England, were taken by a pirate belonging to Scilly; whither they were all carried prisoners. The Irish, who were many in the island, against whom Col. Axtell had been very active, and who had heard of the charge lately exhibited against him, pressed hard for the taking away his life. But, upon consideration of the preparations making by the parliament to send a fleet with soldiers to reduce that island, it was not thought convenient to attempt any thing against him, though they had a strong inclination to it, for fear of an exemplary retaliation.

In the mean time the parliament sent a fleet with some land-forces, to reduce the isle of Jersey, with the castle, which was kept by Sir Philip Carteret for Prince Charles. Col. Haines, who commanded them, met with some opposition at his landing; but having brought his men ashore,

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ashore, the island generally submitted to the parliament. The castle having made some resistance, was soon after surrendered also.

The affairs of the commonwealth being thus successful, and their authority acknowledged by the applications of agents and ambassadors from foreign nations to them, it was resolved to send some ministers abroad, to entertain a good correspondence with our neighbours, and to preserve the interests of the subjects of this nation in those parts. To that effect, the Lord Chief Justice St. John's was dispatched with the character of Ambassador-Extraordinary to the states of the United Netherlands; with whom Mr. Walter Strickland, our resident there, was joined in commission: and to prevent such another attempt as had been made upon our former agent, forty Gentlemen were appointed to attend him for his security and honour, 10,000 l. being delivered to the Lord Ambassador's steward for the expence of the embassy. Yet this great equipage was not sufficient to prevent a public affront which was offered him by Prince Edward, one of the Palatine family, as he was passing the streets. But the Prince immediately retiring to some place out of the jurisdiction of the states, secured himself from any prosecution; though they pretended, upon the complaint of our Ambassadors, that they were ready to do them what right they could. The negotiation of our ministers, which was designed to procure a nearer conjunction and coalition between the two states, proved also ineffectual; the province of Holland being not so much inclined to consent to it as was expected; and Frizeland, with most of the rest of the provinces, entirely against it;

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it; presuming that such a conjunction as was demanded, would be no less than rendering those countries a province to England: so that our Ambassadors having used all possible means to succeed in their business, and finding the Dutch unwilling to conclude with us whilst the King had an army in the field, returned to England without effecting any thing but the expence of a great sum of money. This disappointment sat so heavy upon the haughty spirit of the Lord Chief Justice St. John's, that he reported these transactions with the highest aggravations against the states, and thereby was a principal instrument to prevail with the council of state to move the parliament, to pass an act prohibiting foreign ships from bringing any merchandizes into England, except such as should be of the growth or manufacture of that country to which the said ships did belong. This law, though just in itself, and very advantageous to the English nation, was so highly resented by the Dutch, who had for a long time driven the trade of Europe by the great number of their ships, that it soon proved to be the ball of contention between the two nations.

During these transactions, the Deputy of Ireland, labouring with all diligence to carry on the public service, ordered the army to rendezvous at Cashil: from whence he marched, by the way of Nenagh, to that part of the river Shannon which lies over-against Killalo; where the Earl of Castlehaven lay with about 2000 horse and foot, disposed along the side of the river, and defended by breast-works cast up for their security, resolving to endeavour to obstruct our passage into Connaught. The Deputy, as if he had intended

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intended to divert the courſe of the river, ſet the ſoldiers and pioneers at work to take the ground lower on our ſide, that the water venting itſelf into the paſſage, the river might become fordable; which ſo alarmed the enemy, that they drew out moſt of their men to oppoſe us. Whilſt they were thus amuſed, the Deputy, taking me with him, and a guard of horſe, marched privately by the ſide of the Shannon, in order to find a convenient place to paſs that river. The ways were almoſt impaſſable by reaſon of the bogs; though Col. Reeves, and others who commanded in thoſe parts, had repaired them with hurdles as well as they could. Being advanced about half way from Killalo to Caſtle-Conel, we found a place that anſwered our deſires, where a bridge had formerly been, with an old caſtle ſtill ſtanding at the foot of it on the other ſide of the river. We took only a ſhort view of the place, leſt we ſhould give occaſion to the enemy to ſuſpect our deſign. The way hither from our camp was ſo full of bogs, that neither horſe nor man could paſs without great danger; ſo that we were neceſſitated to mend them, by laying hurdles and great pieces of timber acroſs in order to bear our carriages: which we did under pretence of making a paſſable way between our camp and Caſtle-Conel, a garriſon of ours, where proviſions were laid up for the army. It was about ten days before all things neceſſary to this deſign could be prepared; and then Col. Reeves was commanded to bring three boats which he had to a place appointed for that purpoſe, by one o'clock in the morning. At the beginning of the night, three regiments of foot, and one of horſe, with four pieces of cannon, marched ſilently

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lently towards the place where the boats were ordered to lie, and arrived there an hour before day. They found but two boats waiting for them; yet they served to carry over three files of musketeers and six troopers; who having unsaddled their horses, caused them to swim by the boat, and were safely landed on the other side. Two centinels of the enemy were in the castle; of whom one was killed by our men, and the other made his escape. Our boats had transported about sixty foot and twenty horse before any enemy appeared: but then some of their horse coming up, skirmished with ours; wherein one Mr. How, a hopeful daring young Gentleman, who had accompanied me into Ireland, distinguished himself. About 1000 of the enemy's foot advancing, our horse was commanded to retire, which they did, not without some reluctance; but the hasty march of their foot was retarded by our guns, which we had planted on a hill on our side of the river; from whence we fired so thick upon them, that they were forced to retreat under the shelter of a rising ground; where after they had been a while, and considered what to do, finding ours coming over apace to them, instead of attacking us, they began to think it high time to provide against our falling upon them; and having sent to all their guards upon the river to draw off, they retreated farther through the woods into their own quarters. We were no sooner got over the river, but we received advice, that Sir Charles Coote and Commissary-General Reynolds were entered into Connaught, and advanced as far as Athenree. Our ships were also come up the river of Limerick with our artillery, ammunition, provisions,

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visions, and all things necessary for the siege of Limerick. And now the Deputy thinking himself abundantly provided for the reduction of that important place, and not knowing what necessities the party with Sir Charles Coote might be driven to, the chief of the enemy's strength being drawn that way, he resolved to send a party of horse to him; but not being able to spare above 1000 horse for that service, he was unwilling to desire me to command them, though he had no person with him that he could conveniently make use of therein; most of the Colonels of horse being employed in their respective precincts, to secure them from the incursions of the enemy. This I perceived, and offered to march with them. Whereupon the Deputy furnished me with three Majors, who were Maj. Warden, of my own regiment of horse, Maj. Owen, of the regiment of Commissary-General Reynolds, and Maj. Bolton, of a regiment of dragoons, a brave and diligent officer. We began our march about five in the afternoon; and by twelve at night, having marched between sixteen and seventeen miles, we dismounted to forage our horses, and rest ourselves. Before day we mounted, and continued our march through a desolate country, the people being fled, and no provisions to be had but what we carried with us. About ten in the morning our forlorn perceived a *creaght*, as the country-people call it, where half a dozen families, with their cattle, were got together. Some of those who saw them first, presuming all the Irish in that country to be enemies, began to kill them: of which having notice, I put a stop to it; and took a share with them of a pot of sour milk, which

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seemed to me the most pleasant liquor that ever I drank. In the afternoon we found the ways exceeding bad, and almost impassable; many of the hurdles which had been laid upon them, being drawn away, as we supposed, by the enemy. Yet in a little more than twenty four hours we had marched about forty miles; and were informed, that Sir Charles Coote was besieging Portumna, a house of the Earl of Clanrikcard, and that the enemy were about Athenree. Upon this notice, leaving my party advantageously posted in a place furnished with provisions for themselves and horses, I took with me sixty horse, and went to Portumna, to be informed more particularly concerning the state of affairs. At my arrival, I understood that an attempt had been made upon the place, wherein our men had been repulsed; but that the enemy, having a large line to keep, and many poor people within, fearing to hazard another assault, had agreed to surrender upon articles next morning; which was done accordingly. And now having found Sir Charles Coote's party in good condition, and able to deal with the enemy on that side, I returned to my body of horse; with which, and 500 more that joined me, commanded by Commissary-General Reynolds, I followed, and endeavoured to find out the enemy. But they removed from one place to another with such expedition, that we could not overtake them; having left their carriages, in order to march the lighter, at a castle belonging to one Mr. Brabston, situated upon a considerable pass. This place I endeavoured to reduce: and though it was indifferently strong, and we very ill provided for such attempt; yet, after some resistance, the ene-

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my delivered it upon articles, whereby they were permitted to carry off whatsoever belonged properly to them; the tents and draught-oxen remaining in our possession, with several other things belonging to the Earl of Clanrickard, whom the Earl of Ormond had constituted his deputy in those parts. Having put a garrison into this place, and sent back Commissary-General Reynolds with his party to Portumna, I marched with my horse towards Limerick, and came to Gourtenshegore, a castle belonging to Sir Dermot O Shortness, who was then gone to Galway; but had left his tenant, with some soldiers, and one Folliot an Englishman, to command them, in the castle. At my coming before it, I summoned them to submit; offering them, that, in case they would dismiss their soldiers, and promise to live quietly in the obedience of the parliament, I would leave no garrison in the place, nor suffer any prejudice to be done to them. They pretending they had already submitted to Sir Charles Coote, refused to deliver the castle to any other. Though I took this to be only a pretence; yet, to leave them without excuse, and to prevent all exceptions, I sent to Sir Charles Coote, to desire him to let me know how the matter stood, and to direct them to deliver the place to me. Having received an answer to my letter from Sir Charles Coote, I sent it to them, telling them, that now I expected their obedience. But, instead of that, they sent me a defiance, and sounded their bagpipes in contempt of us: to which they were chiefly encouraged by one of the country, whom I had sent to bring in to me some iron bars, sledges, and pickaxes; and who, under colour of going to

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fetch them, ran away to the enemy, and acquainted them with our want of artillery and inſtruments to force them. I gave orders to take up all the horſes from graſs, to bridle and ſaddle them, and to tie them to the tents of their reſpective troops, commanding two troops to mount the guard, and to ſend out ſcouts to diſcover if any enemy were near. The reſt of the men I drew into ſeveral parties, and aſſigned them their particular attacks. Every ſoldier carried a faggot before him, as well to defend himſelf, as to fill up the enemy's trenches, or to fire the gates, as there ſhould be occaſion. On one ſide of the wall there was an earth-work about eleven foot high, with a trench of equal breadth without. The wall of the court was about twelve foot high, well flanked. On the other ſide, the place was ſecured by a river. Upon our firſt approach, the enemy ſhot very thick upon us, and killed two of our men: which ſo enraged the reſt, that they ran up to the works; and, helping one another to the top of them, beat off the enemy, following them ſo cloſe, that, by means of ſome ladders which thoſe within had made uſe of, they got into the court, and put to the ſword moſt of thoſe they found there, the enemy not daring to open the gate to receive their friends. Thoſe of ours who had entered the court, having no inſtruments to force the houſe, made uſe of a wooden bar which they found, and with which they wreſted out the iron bars of a ſtrong ſtone window about ſix foot from the ground; and forced the enemy, by their ſhot, out of that room; where being entered, they put to the ſword thoſe that were there. Lieut. Folliot finding his caſe deſperate, reſolved to ſell his life at as dear a

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rate as he could; and charged our men, who were nine or ten in number, with a tuck in one hand, and a ſtilletto in the other, defending himſelf ſo well with the one, and preſſing them ſo hard with the other, that they all gave ground: but he cloſing with one of them whom he had wounded, and probably might have killed, gave an opportunity to another to run him through the body; by which wound he fell, and the houſe was quickly cleared of the reſt. Moſt of the principal of the enemy being got into the caſtle, our men fired a great number of faggots at the gates; which burned ſo furiouſly, that the flame took hold of the floors, and other timber within, through the iron grate: which being perceived by thoſe in the caſtle, they hung out a white flag, begging earneſtly for mercy; and that we would take away the fire. I commanded our men to leave ſhooting; and acquainted the beſieged, that, if they expected any favour from us, they muſt throw down their arms; which they preſently did. Whereupon I ordered the fire to be taken away; and gave a ſoldier twenty ſhillings to fetch out two barrels of powder that were near the fire; which continued to burn ſo fiercely, that we could not put it out, but were obliged to throw up ſkains of match into the chambers; by which thoſe in the caſtle deſcended to us, being about fourſcore in number, beſides many women and children. We ſecured the men till the next morning: when I called a council of war; and being preſſed by the officers, that ſome of the principal of them might be puniſhed with death for their obſtinacy, I conſented to their demand, provided it might not extend to ſuch as had been drawn in by the

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malice of others. Those who were tenants to Sir Dermot O Shortness, and country-men, I dismissed to their habitations, upon promise to behave themselves peaceably, and to engage against us no more; the rest of them we carried away with us. Whilst we were spending our time in sending to Sir Charles Coote, and expecting his answer, I had sent a party of horse to find out some of the enemy that were marched towards the barony of Burren: and though they could not overtake them; yet they met with 4 or 500 head of cattle, and seized them; which proved a great refreshment to our party, and to the army that was besieging Limerick; whither we returned, and gave an account of our proceedings to the Deputy, who expressed himself well satisfied with the same.

At my return, I found that our army had possessed themselves of one of the enemy's forts that stood in the midst of the Shannon upon the Fishing-ware, in this manner. A small battery of two guns being erected against it, one of them was fired into a room; and, breaking the leg of a soldier there, so frighted the rest, that, betaking themselves to their boats, they abandoned the place; which ours perceiving, fired so thick upon them with their shot, that all those who were in one of the boats, whether moved by fear, or promise of life, I know not, surrendered to our men: yet some of them were put to the sword; at which the Deputy was much troubled, judging that they would not have quitted the means they had in their hands for their preservation, but upon terms of advantage; and therefore referred the matter to be examined by a court-martial.

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Thoſe in the town, having conſidered of the ſummons ſent to them by the Deputy for the ſurrender of the place, agreed to treat concerning articles, ſuppoſing that they might obtain more favourable conditions than when they ſhould be driven to extremities. Accordingly ſix commiſſioners were appointed on each ſide. Thoſe for the enemy were Maj.-Gen. Purcell, Mr. Stockdale, Recorder of the town, Col. Butler, Jeffrey Barrow, who had been one of their ſupreme council, Mr. Bagot, and one more, whoſe name I do not remember. The commiſſioners nominated by the Deputy, were Maj.-Gen. Waller, Col. Cromwel, Maj. Smith, Adjutant-General Allen, myſelf, and one more, whom I have alſo forgot. We met them in a tent placed between the town and our camp; where we dined together, and treated of conditions for ſeveral days. But they having great expectations of relief, either by the King's ſucceſs againſt us in Scotland, or by the drawing together of their own parties in Ireland, who were able to form an army more numerous than ours, inſiſted upon ſuch exceſſive terms, that the treaty was broken up without coming to any concluſion. The fort which we were preparing, in order to block them up on one ſide of the town, being almoſt finiſhed, and materials ready for building a bridge to be laid over the Shannon, to preſerve a communication between our forces on each ſide, we reſolved to endeavour the reduction of a caſtle poſſeſſed by the enemy, and ſtanding beyond their bridge. To that end, a battery was erected; and a breach being made, the Deputy, remembering the vigour of the troopers in the action at Gourtenſhegore, deſired,

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red, that one might be drawn out of each troop, to be an example to the foot that were to ſtorm; which being done, they were armed with back, breaſt, and head pieces, and furniſhed with hand-granadoes. One Mr. Hacket, a ſtout Gentleman of the guard, was made choice of to lead them on; who were in all not above twenty. This deſign ſucceeded beyond expectation: for our men, having thrown in their granadoes, marched up to the breach, and entered with Mr. Hacket at the head of them, being followed by thoſe who were ordered to ſuſtain them. The enemy, not being able to ſtand before them, quitted the place, and retired by the bridge into the town. The caſtle was immediately ſearched, and four or five barrels of powder were found in a vault, ready to take fire by a lighted match left there by the enemy on purpoſe to blow up our men. The Deputy gave Mr. Hacket, and the reſt of the troopers, a gratuity for their good ſervice; and, upon the encouragement of this ſucceſs, formed a deſign to poſſeſs himſelf of an iſland that lay near the town, containing about forty or fifty acres of ground, and encompaſſed by the river. In order to which, boats were prepared, and floats, ſufficient to tranſport 300 men at once, and orders given to fall down the river about midnight. Three regiments of foot and one of horſe were appointed to be wafted over. The firſt 300, being all foot, were commanded by Lt-Col. Walker; who, being landed on the iſland with his men, marched up to the enemy's breaſt-work, which they had caſt up quite round the place; but they, having diſcovered our men before their landing, had drawn moſt of their forces together to oppoſe them: ſo that, being oppreſſed

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oppreſſed by the enemy's numbers, they were moſt of them forced into the water, and all either killed or drowned, except two or three only who came back to the camp. Our bridge being finiſhed, and a ſmall fort to defend it erected at the foot of it, the Deputy, with moſt part of the army, marched over to the other ſide of the river; where he marked out ground for three bodies of men to incamp ſeparately, each to conſiſt of about 2000; giving orders for the fortifying of thoſe places; aſſigning to each regiment their proportion, and quartering them by brigades in the moſt convenient manner he could, either to defend themſelves, to relieve each other, or to annoy the enemy: and as ſoon as the great fort on which our men had been long working was rendered defenſible, he drew off all our forces from this ſide of the river, except 1000 foot, and about 300 horſe.

In the mean time, the enemy was endeavouring to draw their forces together to relieve the place, well knowing of what importance it was to their affairs. To that end, the Lord Muſkerry had brought together about 5000 horſe and foot in the counties of Cork and Kerry, and David Rook between 2 or 3000 more in the county of Clare. The Lord Broghill and Maj. Wallis were ſent to oppoſe the Lord Muſkerry; whilſt I, with another detachment, was ordered to look after the other. The Lord Broghill ſoon met with the Lord Muſkerry; and, after ſome diſpute, entirely defeated him, killing many of the Iriſh, and taking others priſoners, with little loſs on our ſide. I paſſed the river at Inchecroghnan; of which the enemy having advice, drew off their forces from Caricgoholt, a garri-

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ſon of ours which they were beſieging; whereby Capt. Lucas, who was Governor of the place, wanting proviſions, took that opportunity to quit it; and being joined by Capt. Taaff's dragoons, came ſafe to us. Whilſt I was endeavouring to find out the enemy, advice was brought to me, that they, to the number of 3000 horſe and foot, were marching with all diligence to poſſeſs themſelves of the paſs at Inchecroghnan, thereby deſigning to obſtruct our return to the army before Limerick: which being confirmed by a letter we intercepted, I drew out 250 horſe with 60 dragoons, and ſent them before, with orders to take poſſeſſion of the paſs, marching after them with the reſt of my party. When I was almoſt come to the paſs, I was informed by thoſe ſent before, that they had found a ſmall number of the enemy's horſe there, who immediately retreated upon the advance of our men; ſome of whom were in purſuit of them. Preſently after advice was brought, that the enemy had made good a paſs leading to ſome woods and bogs which they uſed for a retreat; whereupon I went to take a view of their poſture, that, if it were neceſſary, I might order a greater force to ſuccour our men. Being come up to the place where the diſpute was, I found, that Connor O Brian, deputed by the Lord Inchiquin to command in the county of Clare, had been ſhot from his horſe, and carried away by his party. The enemy retreated to a paſs, and fired thick upon us: but we advancing within piſtol-ſhot of them, they quitted their ground, and betook themſelves to their woods and bogs. Divers of them were killed in the purſuit: yet the ground was ſo advantageous to them, and their heels

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heels so good, that though we pursued them with all possible diligence, and sent out parties several ways, yet we could not take above two or three of them prisoners. Having dispersed this party, and relieved the garrison of Caricgoholt, I returned to the army before Limerick; where I found a considerable progress made in our works on the other side of the town, and a reinforcement from England of between 3 and 4000 foot; whose arrival was very seasonable and welcome to us, having lost many men by hard service, change of food, and alteration of the climate. The Deputy fearing that the plague, which raged fiercely in Limerick, might reach our army; and, to the end that care might be taken of our sick and wounded men, caused an hospital to be prepared, and furnished with all things necessary: and whilst the works were finishing against the town, he went to visit the garrison of Killalo, and to order a bridge to be made over the river at that place, for the better communication of the counties of Tipperary and Clare. I accompanied him in this journey; and, having passed all places of danger, he left his guard to refresh themselves, and rode so hard, that he spoiled many horses, and hazarded some of the men. But he was so diligent in the public service, and so careless of every thing that belonged to himself, that he never regarded what cloaths or food he used, what hour he went to rest, or what horse he mounted.

In the mean time, our army in Scotland lying near the enemy's camp at Torwood, who were plentifully furnished with provisions from the county of Fife; it was resolved, that a party of ours, commanded by Col. Overton, should be

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be sent in boats from Leith and Edinburgh into that county, to contrive some way to prevent the enemy's supplies from thence. This party was followed by four regiments of horse and foot, commanded by Maj.-Gen. Lambert. Of which the enemy having notice, sent Sir John Brown, who was esteemed to be a person of courage and conduct, with part of their army, to oppose them. It was not long before the two parties came to an engagement; wherein the enemy was totally routed, Sir John Brown who commanded them, with about 2000 of his men, killed, many made prisoners, and all their baggage taken. The Scots, being deprived of their usual supplies from Fife, and not expecting any from foreign parts, by reason of the number of our ships cruising on their coast, resolved to march into England, having received encouragement so to do from their old and new friends there. They passed the river Tweed near Carlisle, there being a strong garrison in Berwick for the parliament; and were considerably advanced on their march before our army in Scotland were acquainted with their design. Maj.-Gen. Harrison, with about 4000 horse and foot, somewhat obstructed their march, though he was not considerable enough to fight them; and being joined by Maj.-Gen. Lambert with a party of horse from the army, they observed the enemy so closely, as to keep them from excursions, and to prevent others from joining with them. The Scots, who were in great expectation of assistance from Wales, and relied much upon Col. Massey's interest in Gloucestershire, advanced that way. Few of the country came in to them. But, on the other side, so affectionate

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fectionate were the people to the commonwealth, that they brought in horſe and foot from all parts to aſſiſt the parliament; inſomuch that their number was by many thought ſufficient to have beaten the enemy without the aſſiſtance of the army; ſome even of the excluded members appearing in arms, and leading regiments againſt the common enemy.

At the ſame time, upon notice that the Earl of Derby was at the head of 1500 horſe and foot in Lancaſhire, Col. Lilburn was ſent that way with about 800 men; who meeting with the Earl's forces near Wigan, after a ſharp diſpute for about an hour, totally routed them. The number of the ſlain was conſiderable on the enemy's ſide. The Lord Widdrington, with other perſons of quality, were killed. All their baggage was taken, and 3 or 400 made priſoners; with the loſs only of one officer, and about ten private ſoldiers, of Col. Lilburn's. The Earl of Derby himſelf was wounded, and eſcaped to Worceſter; but bringing not above thirty tired horſe with him, the townſmen began to repent their revolt from the parliament.

The Scots having poſſeſſed themſelves of the city of Worceſter, and fortified it as well as they could in ſo ſhort a time, reſolved to attack our army; which was now advanced to that place, and poſted on each ſide of the Severn, ready to receive them, with Gen. Cromwel at their head. Their firſt attack was made upon Lt-Gen. Fleetwood's quarters, that were on the other ſide of the river; who, with ſome forces of the army, and a reinforcement of the militia, made a vigorous reſiſtance. The General fearing he might be overpowered, diſpatched ſome troops to his

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assistance by a bridge laid over the river; commanding Maj.-Gen. Lambert to send another detachment to the same purpose. But he desired to be excused; alledging, that if the enemy should alter their course, and fall upon those on this side, they might probably cut off all that remained: which was not unlikely; for soon after most of the enemy's strength fell upon that part of the army where the General and Maj.-Gen. Lambert were. The battle was fought with various success for a considerable time: but at length the Scots army was broken, and quitting their ground, retreated in great disorder to the town, where they endeavoured to defend themselves. Maj.-Gen. Harrison, Col. Croxton, and the forces of Cheshire, entered the place at their heels; and, being followed by the *rest of* the army, soon finished the dispute, and totally defeated the enemy. Three English Earls, seven Scots Lords, and above 600 officers, besides 10,000 private soldiers, were made prisoners. The King's standard, and 158 colours, with all their artillery, ammunition, and baggage, were also taken. On our side, Quartermaster-General Mosely and Capt. Jones, with about 100 private soldiers, were killed; and Capt. Howard, with one Captain more, and about 300 soldiers, wounded. This victory was obtained by the parliament's forces on the 3d of September, being the same day of the same month that the Scots had been defeated at Dunbar the preceeding year. Col. Massey escaped into Leicestershire; but being dangerously wounded, found himself not able to continue his way, and fearing to be knocked on the head by the country, delivered himself to the Countess of Stamford, mother

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mother to the Lord Grey of Grooby; who caused his wounds to be carefully dressed, and sent notice of his surrender to the army. Whereupon a party was dispatched with orders to conduct him from thence to London, as soon as he should be fit to travel; which was done, and he committed prisoner to the Tower. The Scots King with the Lord Wilmot were concealed by three country-men, till they could furnish him with a horse; with which he crossed the country to one Mr. Gunter's near Shoreham in Sussex, carrying one Mrs. Lane behind him; from whence in a small bark he escaped to France.

The General, after this action, which he called the crowning victory, took upon him a more stately behaviour, and chose new friends. Neither must it be omitted, that, instead of acknowledging the services of those who came from all parts to assist against the common enemy, though he knew they had deserved as much honour as himself and the standing army, he frowned upon them, and, the very next day after the fight, dismissed and sent them home; well knowing, that an useful and experienced militia was more likely to obstruct than to second him in his ambitious designs. Being on his way to London, many members of the parliament, attended by the city, and great numbers of persons of all orders and conditions, went some miles out of town to meet him; which tended not a little to heighten the spirit of this haughty Gentleman.

Lt-Gen. Monk, whom the General had raised to that employment, and ordered to command in Scotland during his absence, took Stirling castle; and then marched with about 4000

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horſe and foot before Dundee. But being adviſed, that Gen. Leſley, the Earl of Crawfurd, and others, were met at Elliot to conſult of means to relieve that town, he ſent a party of horſe and dragoons, commanded by Col. Alured and Col. Morgan, to ſurpriſe them: which they did; and the principal of them being taken, were ſent priſoners to London, where they were committed to the Tower. After this he ſummoned the town of Dundee. But the place being well fortified, and provided with a numerous garriſon, refuſed to ſurrender: whereupon he ſtormed it; and being entered, put 5 or 600 to the ſword, and commanded the Governor, with divers others, to be killed in cold blood.

Though the news of theſe ſucceſſes much diſcouraged our enemies in Ireland; yet thoſe in Limerick were not without ſome hopes, that either the plague, or ſcarcity of proviſions, together with the badneſs of the weather, might conſtrain us to raiſe the ſiege; and therefore refuſed to accept ſuch conditions as we were willing to grant. The line which we had made about the town, and the forts, being in a condition of defence, the Deputy reſolved to look after the enemy in the county of Clare, and, if poſſible, to get ſome proviſions from thence for the relief of the army. He took me with him, knowing I had been in thoſe parts before, and between 3 or 4000 horſe and foot. At our approach to the places where the enemy uſually were, we divided our body; the Deputy being at the head of one, and I at the head of the other party; hoping by this means ſo to encompaſs the enemy, that they ſhould not eſcape us. But though we ſometimes came within ſight of them, and uſed

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our utmoſt endeavours to engage them; yet, by reaſon of the advantages they made of the woods, rocks, hills, and bogs, for their retreat, we could do them little hurt, ſave by ſeizing their horſes and cattle. In the abſence of this party from the army, the enemy with 2000 foot made a ſally out of Limerick ſo unexpectedly upon our men, that they had almoſt ſurpriſed our guard of horſe. But ours immediately mounting, and being not accuſtomed to be beaten, charged them, and, notwithſtanding the inequality of the forces, they being much ſuperior to us in number, put them to a ſtand, till a party of horſe and foot came to their relief, and forced the enemy to retreat under the walls of the town; from whence their men fired ſo thick upon ours, that their own men had time to get into the town.

When this account was brought from Sir Hardreſs Waller to the Deputy, he was upon his return to the army before Limerick; having left me with about 2000 horſe and foot, as well to eaſe our quarters about the town, not knowing how long we might lie before it, as to endeavour to perſuade the garriſon of Clare caſtle, a ſtrong place, and ſituated upon the river, to ſurrender. To that end, being arrived in the army, he ſent one Lt-Col. White, who had ſerved the enemy, and now had a commiſſion to raiſe forces for the King of Spain, with an order to me, to permit him to go to the ſaid garriſon, that he might inform them of the impoſſibility of their receiving any relief, and of the neceſſities to which Limerick was already reduced, and thereby prevail with them to make ſpeedy proviſion for themſelves, and to liſt under him.

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But his design proving ineffectual, I found myself obliged to return to the camp before Limerick; where we made provision for a winter-siege.

Great numbers of people endeavoured to get out of the town, sent out by the garrison either as useless persons, or to spread the contagion amongst us. The Deputy commanded them to return, and threatened to shoot any that should attempt to come out for the future. But this not being sufficient to make them desist, he caused two or three to be taken out in order to be executed, and the rest to be whipped back into the town. One of those that were to be hanged, was the daughter of an old man, who was in that number which was to be sent back. He desired, that he might be hanged in the room of his daughter: but that was refused, and he with the rest driven back into the town. After which a gibbet was erected in the sight of the town-walls, and one or two persons hanged up, who had been condemned for other crimes, that those within might suppose that execution to be for coming out. And by this means they were so terrified, that we were no farther disturbed on that account.

The Deputy, upon information received, that some in the town were desirous to surrender, and that others did violently oppose them, endeavoured, by letters and messages, to foment the division; declaring against several persons by name that were most active and obstinate for holding out, that they should have no benefit by the articles to be agreed upon; severely inveighing against a generation of men whom he called *soldiers of fortune*, that made a trade of

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of the war, and valued not the lives or happineſs of the people. This wrought the deſired effect; and ſo encouraged the complying party, that it was carried for a treaty, and commiſſioners again appointed on each ſide. We inſiſted, that about ſeventeen of the principal perſons in the place ſhould be excepted out of the articles; of which number were Col. Hugh O Neal the Governor, the Mayor of the city, the Biſhops of Limerick and Emmene, Maj.-Gen. Purcell, Sir Geoffrey Galloway, Sir Jeffrey Barrow, one Wolfe a Prieſt, Sir Richard Everard, and others. But theſe made ſo ſtrong a party, that the treaty was broke up without any agreement, and no other way left to reduce them but by force. In order to which, the Deputy cauſed the great guns to be landed from the ſhips, and others to be brought from the adjacent garriſons. With theſe he erected a battery againſt the town in the moſt convenient place that could poſſibly have been found, being againſt a part of the wall; which though it was of the ſame height and thickneſs with the reſt of it, and alſo as well flanked; yet it proved not to be lined with earth within, as all the other parts were, nor had any counterſcarp without.

In the mean time, the parliament ſeeing a period put to the war in England and Scotland, and that of Ireland drawing towards a concluſion, reſolved to gratify ſuch officers as the General recommended to their favour; and thereupon ſettled 1000 l. yearly on Maj.-Gen. Lambert, 300 l. on Maj.-Gen. Overton, the ſame on Col. Pride and Col. Whalley, 500 l. annually on Commiſſary-General Reynolds, and 1000 l. *per annum* on the Lord Broghill. They alſo ſettled 4000 l.

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4000 l. a-year on the Lord General himself, out of the estates of the Duke of Buckingham and Marquis of Worcester, besides the 2500 l. a-year formerly granted. This they did to oblige him, by all means possible, to the performance of his duty, or to leave him without excuse if he should depart from it. They ordered also an act to be brought in for settling 2000 l. *per annum* on the Lord Deputy Ireton. The news of which being brought over, was so unacceptable to him, that he said, "They had many "just debts, which he desired they would pay "before they made any such presents; that he "had no need of their land, and therefore "would not have it; and that he should be "more contented to see them doing the service "of the nation, than so liberal in disposing of "the public treasure." And truly I believe he was in earnest: for as he was always careful to husband those things that belonged to the state to the best advantage, so was he most liberal in employing his own purse and person in the public service.

Our battery being now in order, and the regiments that were appointed to storm disposed to their several posts, we began to fire, directing all our shot to one particular part of the wall; wherein we made such a breach, that the enemy, not daring to run any farther hazard, beat a parley; and soon came to a resolution to surrender upon the articles we had offered before, delivering up the east-gate of the out-town, which was separated by a river, having a draw-bridge over it from the other town. The Deputy ordered all the arms and ammunition to be carefully preserved, and the soldiers who were not of the town,

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town, to be drawn up between the place and our army, that such as desired it might have convoys to conduct them to their respective parties; and that those who would return to their habitations, might have passes granted to that effect. The Governor Col. Hugh O Neal met the Deputy at the gate; where he presented him with the keys of the city, and gave order for the marching out of the soldiers, who were not townsmen, according to the articles. They were in number about 2500 men. As they were marching out, two or three of them fell down dead of the plague. Several of them also lay unburied in the church-yard. The Governor waited on the Deputy, to shew him the stores of arms, ammunition, and provisions, which were sufficient to have lasted near three months longer. He shewed him also the fortifications, and whatsoever else he desired of him; withal acquainting him, that nine or ten of those who were excepted from the benefit of the articles, had surrendered themselves to his mercy, and were waiting his orders in a certain house which he named. Upon which the Deputy commanded a guard to be set upon them; and committed the Governor also to their custody. The Bishop of Emmene and Maj.-Gen. Purcell, with Wolfe the priest, were taken in the pest-house, where they had hid themselves. Jeffrey Barrow and Sir Geoffrey Galloway surrendered themselves. Two days after the delivery of the town, the Mayor came to the place of worship, where our court of guard was met: and whether by his words or actions he gave cause of suspicion, I cannot tell; but they seized him, and, upon examination, found who he was; whereupon

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upon they committed him to prison. The Bishop of Limerick was the only person excepted that was yet undiscovered; but we afterwards understood him to be one of a more peaceable spirit than the rest. A court-martial was assembled; and the Bishop of Emmene, with Maj.-Gen. Purcell, required to acquaint them, if they had any thing to say why they should not die according to the sentence passed upon them. The Bishop said, That having many sins to confess, he desired time to prepare himself to that purpose; which was granted. Maj.-Gen. Purcell fell upon his knees, and begged earnestly for his life; but that was denied. This poor man was of so low a spirit, that, wanting courage at the time of his execution, he stood in need of two musketeers to support him. The Bishop died with more resolution; and Wolfe the priest was also executed. The Governor and Jeffrey Barrow were also condemned to die. But the Deputy resolving to hear them, demanded of the Governor what he had to say for himself; who answered, That the war had been long on foot before he came over; that he came upon the invitation of his countrymen; that he had always demeaned himself as a fair enemy; and that the ground of his exception from the articles, being his encouraging to hold out, though there was no hope of relief, was not applicable to him, who had always moved them to a timely surrender; as indeed he made it appear: and therefore hoped, that he should enjoy the benefit of the articles; in confidence of which he had faithfully delivered up the keys of the town, with all the arms, ammunition, and provisions, without imbezzlement, and his own person also, to

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the Deputy. But the blood formerly ſhed at Clonmel, where this Col. O Neal was Governor, had made ſuch an impreſſion on the Deputy, that his judgment, which was of great weight with the court, moved them a ſecond time to vote him to die; though ſome of us earneſtly oppoſed it, for the reaſons before mentioned by himſelf; and becauſe whatſoever he had been guilty of before, had no relation to theſe articles; which did not at all exempt him from being called to an account by the civil magiſtrate for the ſame. The court having paſſed ſentence of death a ſecond time againſt him, the Deputy, who was now entirely freed from his former manner of adhering to his own opinion, which had been obſerved to be his greateſt infirmity, obſerving ſome of the officers to be unſatisfied with this judgment, referred it again to the conſideration of the court; who, by their third vote, conſented to ſave his life. Jeffrey Barrow having the ſame queſtion put to him with the reſt, anſwered, That it was not juſt to exclude him from mercy; becauſe he had been engaged in the ſame cauſe as we pretended to fight for, which was, for the liberty and religion of his country. The Deputy replied, That Ireland being a conquered country, the Engliſh nation might with juſtice aſſert their right and conqueſt: that they had been treated by the late government far beyond their merits, or the rules of reaſon; notwithſtanding which they had barbarouſly murdered all the Engliſh that fell into their hands, robbed them of their goods which they had gained by their induſtry, and taken away the lands which they had purchaſed with their money: that, touching the point of religion,

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gion, there was a wide difference also between us; we only contending to preserve our natural right therein, without imposing our opinions upon other men; whereas they would not be contented unless they might have power to compel all others to submit to their impositions upon pain of death. The council of war looking upon what he had said for himself to be hereby fully refuted, adjudged him to die; as they did the Mayor also: and the sentence was executed accordingly.

Limerick being taken, it was debated in a council of war, whether we should march to Galway, in order to reduce that place, which had been besieged for some time by Sir Charles Coote and Commissary-General Reynolds. I concurred with the Deputy, that the garrison being under a great consternation by the loss of Limerick, would probably be soon brought to reason. But most of the officers complaining of the ill condition of their men through sickness and hard service, representing also the near approach of winter, we being already entered into the month of November, the Deputy contented himself to send only a summons to General Preston, Governor of Galway, with offers of such conditions as were first tendered to those of Limerick; assuring him, at the same time, that if he refused them, he should have no better than they had been lately obliged to submit to. This proposition he rejected; but being unwilling to hazard the event, took shipping soon after, and went beyond sea.

Whilst the Deputy was settling affairs at Limerick, he ordered me with a party to march into the county of Clare, to reduce some places in those.

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thoſe parts. Accordingly I marched with about 2000 foot and 1500 horſe to Inchecroghnan, fifteen miles from Limerick: but it being late before we began our march, and night overtaking us before we could reach that place, as we were paſſing the bridge, one of my horſes that carried my waters and medicines fell into the river; which proved a great loſs to me, as things fell out afterwards. The next day I came before Clare caſtle, and ſummoned it. Whereupon they ſent out commiſſioners to treat, though the place was of very great ſtrength; and, after three or four hours debate, we came to an agreement, by which the caſtle was to be delivered to me the next morning, the enemy leaving hoſtages with us for the performance of their part. That night I lay in my tent upon a hill; where the weather being very tempeſtuous, and the ſeaſon far advanced, I took a very dangerous cold. The next morning the enemy marched out of the caſtle, and received paſſes from me to return home, according to the articles. After which, having appointed Col. Foulk and a garriſon to defend it, I marched towards Carrickgoholt. That night my cold increaſed; and the next morning I found myſelf ſo much diſcompoſed, that Adjutant-General Allen, who was then with us, earneſtly preſſed me to go aboard one of the veſſels that attended our party with ammunition, artillery, and proviſions, and to appoint a perſon to command them in my abſence. But being unwilling to quit the charge committed to my care, I clothed myſelf as warm as I could, putting on a fur coat over my buff, and an oiled one over that: by which means I prevented the farther increaſe of my diſtemper; and ſo ordered

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our quarters that night, that I lay in my own bed set up in an Irish cabbin; where about break of day I fell into so violent a sweat, that I was obliged to keep with me two troops of horse for my guard, after I had given orders for the rest of the men to march. In this condition I continued about two hours; and, though my sweating had not ceased, I mounted in order to overtake my party; who had a bitter day to march in, the wind and the hail beating so violently in our faces, that the horses being not able to endure it, often turned about. Yet in this extremity of weather the poor foot were necessitated to wade through a branch of the sea, near a quarter of a mile over, up to the waist in water. At night we arrived within view of Carrickgoholt; my distemper being but little abated, and my body in a continual sweat. The next day I summoned the garrison to surrender the castle. In answer to which, they sent out commissioners to treat; who at first insisted upon very high terms; but finding us resolved not to grant their propositions, they complied with ours, and the next day surrendered the place. Liberty was given by the articles to such as desired it, to go and join the Lord Muskerry's party in the county of Kerry; the rest to return home, with promise of protection as long as they behaved themselves peaceably, excepting only such who should appear to have been guilty of murder in the first year of the war, or afterwards. Having placed a garrison in Carrickgoholt, I returned towards Limerick; and being on my march thither, I was met by an officer of the guard, with orders from the Deputy for my return; who, thinking it impossible to reduce this garrison by force in

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ſuch a ſeaſon, was unwilling that the ſoldiers ſhould remain longer in the field, expoſed to ſuch cruel and ſharp weather. The meſſenger alſo acquainted me, that the Deputy was coming towards us, which he did, as well to view the country, in order to the more equal diſtribution of winter-quarters and garriſons, as to let us ſee that he would not command any ſervice, but ſuch as he was willing to take a ſhare of himſelf. Upon this advice I haſtened with a party to meet him, giving orders for the reſt to follow as faſt as they could conveniently. At our meeting I gave him an account of what I had done; with which he was very well ſatisfied. After two days march, without any thing remarkable but bad quarters, we entered into the barony of Burren; of which it is ſaid, that it is a country where there is not water enough to drown a man, wood enough to hang one, nor earth enough to bury him; which laſt is ſo ſcarce, that the inhabitants ſteal it from one another: and yet their cattle are very fat; for the graſs growing in turfs of earth, of two or three foot ſquare, that lie between the rocks, which are of limeſtone, is very ſweet and nouriſhing. Being in theſe parts, we went to Lemmene, a houſe of that Connor O Bryan whom we had killed near Inchecroghnan; and finding it indifferent ſtrong, being built with ſtone, and having a good wall about it, we put a garriſon into it, and furniſhed it with all things neceſſary. The next day the Deputy, with a party of horſe, went to view ſome other places where he deſigned to appoint garriſons, in order to prevent the ſending of proviſions into Galway; to which this country lies contiguous. I was very deſirous to attend

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him, according to my duty; but he, having observed my distemper to continue upon me, would not permit it; and when I pressed it more earnestly, he positively commanded me to stay. That day there fell abundance of rain and snow, which was accompanied with a very high wind; where the Deputy took a very great cold, that discovered itself immediately upon his return: but we could not persuade him to go to bed, till he had determined a cause that was before him and the court-martial, touching an officer of the army, who was accused of some violence done to the Irish; and as in all cases he carried himself with the utmost impartiality, so he did in this, dismissing the officer, though otherwise an useful man, from his command for the same. The next day we marched towards Clare castle, and found the way so rocky, that we rode near three miles together upon one of them, whereby most of our horses cast their shoes; so that though every troop came provided with horse-shoes, which were delivered to them out of the stores; yet before that day's march was over a horse-shoe was sold for five shillings.

The next morning the Lady Honoria O Bryan, daughter to the late Earl of Thomond, being accused of protecting the goods and cattle of the enemy, under pretence that they belonged to her, and thereby abusing the favour of the Deputy's safeguard, which he had granted to her, came to him; and being charged by him with it, and told, that he expected a more ingenuous carriage from her; she burst out into tears; and assured him, if he would forgive her, that she would never do the like again; desiring me, after the Deputy was withdrawn, to intercede with

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him for the continuance of his favour to her: which when I acquainted him with, he said, "As much a Cynic as I am, the tears of this woman moved me;" and thereupon gave order that his protection should be continued to her. From hence I would have attended him to Limerick: but so much more care did he take of me, than of himself, that he would not suffer it; desiring me to go that day, being Saturday, and quarter at Bonratto, a house of the Earl of Thomond's, in order to recover my health, and to come to him on Monday morning at Limerick. Accordingly I came, and found the Deputy grown worse, having been let blood, and sweating exceedingly, with a burning fever at the same time. Yet for all this he ceased not to apply himself to the public business, settling garrisons, and distributing winter-quarters; which was all that remained to be done of the military service for that year. I endeavoured to persuade him, as I had often done before, that his immoderate labours for his country would much impair, if not utterly destroy him: but he had so totally neglected himself during the siege of Limerick, not putting off his cloaths all that time, except to change his linen, that the malignant humours which he had contracted, wanting room to perspire, became confined to his body, and rendered him more liable to be infected by the contagion. I was unwilling to leave him till I saw the event of his distemper: but he supposing my family was by this time come to Dublin, would not permit me to stay; and I finding I could in no way be serviceable to him, submitted to his desires. I found the commissioners of parliament at Dublin, and ac-

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quainted them with the state of affairs in those parts from whence I came; and with the resolutions taken by the Deputy at Limerick. But, soon after my arrival, the sad news of his death was brought to us; which was universally lamented by all good men, more especially because the public was thereby deprived of a most faithful, able, and useful servant.

The commissioners of parliament taking into their consideration what method to observe in that conjuncture, and presuming that my command in the army was next to that of the Deputy, resolved by a letter to acquaint the officers of our forces in Ireland with their judgment, and to require them to yield obedience to me accordingly. I earnestly desired them to forbear sending any such letter; which I did, not out of a feigned modesty, but from a real sense of the weight of such an undertaking, and my own inability to perform the duty of that important station: for though the work seemed to be almost finished, yet there remained great difficulties behind, the enemy possessing some strong places and islands, and having many thousands yet in the field; there being also in the parliament's pay between 7 and 8000 horse and dragoons, with above 22,000 foot. For these and other reasons, I desired them, that they would reserve the power to themselves, till the parliament should send over some person to undertake that employment; which they might do soon enough, the season of action being already past, the troops dispersed into their winter-quarters, and nothing of importance likely to be done before the next spring; acquainting them, that being one of their number, I could be as serviceable in their

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their deliberations and resolutions, as if I were intrusted with the sole power. But all that I could say, was not sufficient to dissuade them from sending the letter before mentioned: and though it met with a general submission, yet I resolved not to undertake any thing without their advice and consent, which they readily promised to afford me.

Some of Gen. Cromwel's relations, who were not ignorant of his vast designs now on foot, caused the body of the Lord Deputy Ireton to be transported into England, and solemnly interred at Westminster in a magnificent monument at the public charge: who if he could have foreseen what was done by them, would certainly have made it his desire, that his body might have found a grave where his soul left it; so much did he despise those pompous and expensive vanities; having erected for himself a more glorious monument in the hearts of good men, by his affection to his country, his abilities of mind, his impartial justice, his diligence in the public service, and his other virtues; which were a far greater honour to his memory, than a dormitory amongst the ashes of Kings, who, for the most part, as they had governed others by their passions, so were they themselves as much governed by them.

The isles of Scilly and Man were reduced to the obedience of the commonwealth; but nothing extraordinary happening at their reduction, at least not coming to my knowledge, I purposely omit the relation of those actions.

About this time we were informed, that Sir George Ayscue, who had been sent by the parliament to the western islands, which still continued

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tinued in arms againſt them, arrived at Barbadoes on the 26th of October 1651; and having opened a paſſage into the harbour, by firing ſome great ſhot, ſeized upon twelve of their ſhips without oppoſition. The next morning he ſent a ſummons to the Lord Willoughby, to ſubmit to the authority of the parliament of England; but he, not acknowledging any ſuch power, declared his reſolution to keep the iſland for the King's ſervice. But the news of the defeat of the Scots and their King at Worceſter being brought to Sir George Ayſcue, together with an intercepted letter from the Lady Willoughby containing the ſame account; he ſummoned him a ſecond time, and accompanied his ſummons with the Lady's letter, to aſſure him of the truth of that report. But the Lord Willoughby, relying upon his numbers, and the fewneſs of thoſe that were ſent to reduce him, being in all but fifteen ſail, returned an anſwer of the like ſubſtance with the former. Whereupon Sir George Ayſcue ſent 200 men on ſhore, commanded by Capt. Morrice, to attack a quarter of the enemy that lay by the harbour; which they executed ſucceſsfully, by taking the fort, and about forty priſoners, with four pieces of cannon; which they nailed up, and returned on board again. At this time the Virginia fleet arriving at Barbadoes, it was thought fit to ſend a third ſummons to the Lord Willoughby. But finding that neither this, nor the declaration ſent to them by the commiſſioners of parliament to the ſame purpoſe, produced any effect, Sir George Ayſcue landed 700 men from his own and the Virginia fleet, giving the command of them to the ſame Capt. Morrice; who fell upon 1300 of

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the enemy's foot, and three troops of their horſe, and beat them from their works, killing many of their men, and taking about 100 priſoners, with all their guns. The loſs on our ſide was inconſiderable, few of ours being killed upon the place, and not above thirty wounded. Yet theſe ſucceſſes were not ſufficient to accompliſh the work; there being above 5000 horſe and foot in the iſland, and our Virginia fleet preparing to depart for want of proviſions. In this conjuncture, Col. Muddiford, who commanded a regiment in the iſland, by the means of a friend that he had in our fleet, made his terms, and declared for the parliament. Many of his friends following his example, did the like; and, in conjunction with him, incamped under the protection of our fleet. Upon this, the moſt part of the iſland were inclined to join us: but the Lord Willoughby prevented them, by placing guards on all the avenues to our camp, and deſigned to charge our men with his body of horſe, wherein he was much ſuperior to them, had not a cannon-ball, that was fired at random, beat open the door of a room where he and his council of war were ſitting; which, taking off the head of the centinel who was placed at the door, ſo alarmed them all, that he changed his deſign, and retreated to a place two miles diſtant from the harbour. Our party, conſiſting of 2000 foot and 100 horſe, advancing towards him, he deſired to treat; which being accepted, Col. Muddiford, Col. Colleton, Mr. Searl, and Capt. Pack, were appointed commiſſioners by Sir George Ayſcue; and by the Lord Willoughby, Sir Richard Pierce, Mr. Charles Pym, Col. Ellis, and Maj. Byham. By theſe it was concluded, That the iſlands

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iſlands of Nevis, Antigua, and St. Chriſtopher's, ſhould be ſurrendered to the parliament of England; that the Lord Willoughby, Col. Walrond, and ſome others, ſhould be reſtored to their eſtates; and that the inhabitants of the ſaid iſles ſhould be maintained in the quiet enjoyment of what they poſſeſſed, on condition to do nothing to the prejudice of the commonwealth. This news being brought to Virginia, they ſubmitted alſo; where one Mr. George Ludlow, a relation of mine, ſerved the parliament in the like manner as Col. Muddiford had done at Barbadoes.

The parliament of England being deſirous, after all theſe ſucceſſes, to convince even their enemies, that their principal deſign was to procure the happineſs and proſperity of all that were under their government, ſent commiſſioners to Scotland to treat concerning an union of that nation with England in one commonwealth; directing them to take care, till that could be effected, that obedience ſhould be given to the authority of the parliament of the commonwealth of England. The commiſſioners appointed to this end on the part of the parliament, were, Sir Henry Vane, the Chief Juſtice St. John's, Mr. Fenwick, Maj. Salloway, Maj.-Gen. Lambert, Col. Titchburn, Maj.-Gen. Dean, and Col. Monk. This propoſition of union was chearfully accepted by the moſt judicious amongſt the Scots; who well underſtood how great a condeſcenſion it was in the parliament of England, to permit a people they had conquered, to have a part in the legiſlative power.

The States-General, being highly diſpleaſed with the late act of navigation paſſed by the parliament,

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liament, which they accounted to be a great obſtruction to their trade, reſolved to leave no means unattempted to procure it to be repealed. To this end, they ſent three Ambaſſadors to England; who, pretending a deſire to finiſh the treaty begun formerly between the two ſtates, requeſted, that things might be as they were at the time of our Ambaſſador's departure from Holland; deſigning thereby, that the act lately paſſed for the encouragement of our ſeamen ſhould be ſuſpended, and all ſuch merchandizes reſtored as had been ſeized from the Dutch by virtue of the ſaid act. The parliament refuſing to conſent to this propoſal, the States-General gave orders for the equipping a conſiderable fleet, conſiſting of about 100 ſhips of war; giving notice to the parliament by their Ambaſſadors of theſe preparations, and aſſuring them, that they were not deſigned to offend the Engliſh nation, with whom they deſired to maintain a friendly correſpondence; and that they were provided to no other end, than to protect their own ſubjects in their trade and navigation. But the parliament, being unwilling to rely upon the promiſes of thoſe who, by their paſt and preſent actions, had manifeſted little friendſhip to us, reſolved to make what preparations they could to defend themſelves.

This alarm awakened us to a diligent performance of our duty in Ireland, fearing, that the Hollanders might tranſport ſome foreign forces by their fleet to the aſſiſtance of the Iriſh, who were not only ſtill numerous in the field, but had alſo divers places of ſtrength to retreat to. Our ſuſpicions were farther increaſed, by the advices we received of a treaty on foot between

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tween the Duke of Lorrain, and Theobald Visc. Taaff, with other Irish, to bring the forces of that Duke into Ireland against us, in order to extirpate all hereticks out of that nation, to re-establish the Romish religion in all parts of it, and to restore the Irish to their possessions; all which being performed, he should deliver up the authority to the King of G. Britain, and assist him against his rebellious subjects in England; that all Ireland should be engaged for his reimbursement; that Galway, Limerick, Athenree, Athlone, Waterford, and the fort of Duncannon, should be put into his hands as cautionary places, with other things of the same nature. The report of this agreement being spread amongst the Irish, encouraged them to make all possible opposition against us, in expectation of the promised succours. The commissioners of the parliament, on the other hand, laboured with all diligence to dispose their affairs in the best manner they could for the public service: in order to which, they sent to the several commanders of our army, to excite them to the discharge of their duty; making provision of arms, ammunition, cloaths, tents, and all things necessary to the carrying on the war in the ensuing spring. A general meeting of officers was also appointed to be held at Kilkenny, to consult about the best method of employing our arms against the enemy: and because the propositions offered by the late Lord Deputy to those of Galway had been no farther prosecuted by reason of his death, orders were dispatched to Sir Charles Coote, authorising him to conclude with them, in case they should accept the conditions at or before the 9th of the next January.

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According to their orders, the officers met at Kilkenny; by whom being informed of what they thought neceſſary for the enſuing ſervice, we acquainted the parliament and council of ſtate with the particulars of ſuch things as were requiſite; deſiring them to ſend them over with all convenient ſpeed, that no time might be loſt, when the ſeaſon of the year ſhould permit us to take the field. We publiſhed two proclamations, to prevent the country from ſupplying the enemy with arms, and other neceſſaries; wherein, drawing a line as it were about the Iriſh quarters, we required all perſons to withdraw themſelves and their goods from the places of their reſort within a limited time; which if they refuſed to do, we declared them enemies, and ordered all officers and ſoldiers to treat them accordingly: commanding alſo all ſmiths, armourers, and ſaddlers, that lived in the country, to retire in twenty days with all their families, forges, and inſtruments, into ſome garriſon of the parliament; on pain of forfeiture of their goods and tools, beſides ſix months impriſonment for the firſt offence, and of death for the ſecond. We ordered alſo, that all thoſe who had withdrawn themſelves out of our protection, and joined with the enemy, ſince the coming over of Gen. Cromwel, ſhould be deprived of the benefit of quarter. Having publiſhed theſe, and other orders of the like tenor, we appointed the Lord Broghill, Commiſſary-General Reynolds, Sir Hardreſs Waller, Col. Axton, and the reſt of the officers, to cauſe them to be put in execution, as occaſion ſhould require.

Having finiſhed our affairs at Kilkenny, and diſmiſſed the officers to their reſpective quarters,

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I resolved to go to Portumna, to make all things ready for the siege of Galway. Being on my march on the other side of Nenagh, an advanced party found two of the rebels; one of whom was killed by the guard before I came up to them: the other was saved; and being brought before me at Portumna, and I asking him if he had a mind to be hanged? he only answered, "If you "please;" so insensibly stupid were many of these poor creatures. The commissioners having done their business in this place, and given directions for the carrying on the siege of Galway, with power to treat, as before mentioned, to Sir Charles Coote, we returned to Dublin; and, at our arrival, were informed, that the barony of Burren, relying upon the security of their places of retreat, had refused to pay the contributions which they had promised. Upon which Sir Hardress Waller had been obliged to lay the country waste, and to seize what he could find, that it might be no longer useful to the enemy. We had advice also from Ulster, that some of our troops had killed and drowned about 140 tories, who infested that province with their robberies.

The time limited by the proclamation, requiring the Irish to withdraw from the places mentioned therein, being expired; I marched with a party of horse and foot into the fastnesses of Wicklo, as well to make examples of such as had not obeyed the proclamation, as to place a garrison there, to prevent the excursions of the enemy. Talbot's town was the place I thought fittest for that end; which having rendered defensible against any sudden attempt, and furnished with all things necessary, I marched farther

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ther into the country. The next morning I divided my men into three parties, ſending away Col. Pretty with one of them to his own quarters, leſt the enemy ſhould fall upon them in his abſence; with the other two we ſcoured by different ways the paſſes and retreats of the Iriſh, but met not with many of them; our parties being ſo big, that the Iriſh, who had centinels placed upon every hill, gave notice of our march to their friends: ſo that, upon our approach, they ſtill fled to their bogs and wood. When I came to Dundrum, a place lying in the heart of the enemy's quarters, I perceived the walls and roof of an old church ſtanding, wherein I placed Capt. Jacob with his company; who was afterwards very ſerviceable againſt the enemy. The like methods being taken by the Lord Broghill, Col. Zanchey, Col. Abbot, and other officers, the Iriſh were reduced to great extremities.

About fourſcore of the inhabitants of Galway went privately out of the town, and ſeizing 100 head of cattle, deſigned to drive them thither; but being upon their return, they were met by a party of ours, who killed threeſcore of them, and recovered all the cattle. This diſappointment was attended with another much greater; for two veſſels, loaden with corn, endeavouring to get into the harbour of Galway, being purſued by two of our frigats, one of them was taken, and the other forced upon the rocks near the iſle of Arran, where ſhe was loſt.

The parliament having received an account of the hopeful condition of their affairs in Ireland, and of the great appearance there was of a ſpeedy determination of that war, appointed

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a committee to ſummon before them thoſe adventurers, who, in the year 1641, had advanced monies upon the lands in Ireland. The ſaid perſons being met at Grocers-hall, choſe twenty eight deputies, to manage the buſineſs with the committee in the names of all the reſt. In conformity to this proceeding, the commiſſioners of parliament in Ireland began to conſider of qualifications and heads under which the Iriſh ſhould be brought, that the innocent might be freed from their fears and apprehenſions, that juſtice might be done, and the guilty puniſhed according to the different nature of their crimes. Of which the Iriſh having notice, and conſidering the declining condition of their affairs in all parts, ſent a letter, directed to the commiſſioners of the parliament of England, from the principal, as they called themſelves, of the kingdom of Ireland, and ſubſcribed by Gerald Fitzgerald, on the behalf of their aſſembly held at Glanmaliero, in the province of Leinſter; repreſenting, That being adviſed, that the commonwealth of England is in a condition to give honourable and ſure terms to them, they are in an entire diſpoſition to receive them; and, to that effect, deſire, in the name of that and the reſt of the provinces, a ſafe-conduct for every one of them, with blanks ſubſcribed to that end, that they may impower and ſend ſome of their members to preſent propoſitions to the commiſſioners that are or ſhould be authoriſed to that purpoſe. To this the commiſſioners anſwered in ſubſtance, That though the letter was ſubſcribed by one, under the pretext of an authority which they could not own without prejudice to that of the parliament; yet, for the ſatisfaction of thoſe concerned, they thought

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thought fit to declare, That the eſtabliſhment of this nation doth of right belong only to the parliament of England; who will diſtinguiſh thoſe who have always lived peaceably, or have already ſubmitted to their authority, and put themſelves under their protection, from ſuch as have committed and countenanced the murders and maſſacres of the Proteſtants during the firſt year of the rebellion, as well as from thoſe who continue ſtill in arms to oppoſe their authority: that they cannot in juſtice conſent to an act ſo prejudicial to the peace of the country, as would involve quiet and peaceable people in the ſame proſecution with thoſe who are in open hoſtility: that they cannot grant ſafe-conducts to ſuch as perſiſt in their oppoſition to the parliament, to aſſemble from all provinces, and to communicate their deſigns to each other; but that all thoſe who will lay down their arms, and ſubmit to the commonwealth, ſhall have as favourable conditions as they can juſtly expect.

This reſolution of the commiſſioners being made public, the Iriſh fell upon another expedient. In purſuance of which, the Earl of Clanrickard, who had been left Deputy by the Earl of Ormond, ſent a letter directed to me, then commander in chief of the forces of the parliament in Ireland, in the words following.

"*SIR*,

"MAny of the Nobility, Clergy, and other "perſons of quality, ſubjects of this "kingdom, with the corporation of Galway, "having conſidered the preſent ſtate of affairs, "and the ruinous effects which this long war "hath produced, have ſolicited me to deſire of

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" you a conference for the eſtabliſhment of the " repoſe of this nation, and to obtain a ſafe- " conduct for the commiſſioners, whom by their " advice I ſhall judge capable to be ſent to you " for that end. It is this which hath obliged " me to ſend you an expreſs; with this proteſta- " tion, That I ſhall not abandon them, till I ſee " ſuch conditions granted them, as they may " with honour accept: for want of which I am " reſolved to continue the authority and prote- " ction of his Majeſty over them, even to ex- " tremity; not doubting, but, by divine aſ- " ſiſtance, with the forces we have already, " and the ſuccours which ſhall be ſent us by his " Majeſty and allies, we ſhall be found in a con- " dition to change the preſent ſtate of affairs, or " at leaſt to render your former conqueſts of " little advantage; and, in the end, to ſell our " lives at a dear rate, if we ſhall be forced " thereto. The which leaving to your conſidera- " tion, and expecting your certain anſwer and " reſolution, I remain,

" *S I R,*

March 24. 1652. " *Your ſervant,*

" CLANRICKARD.

" *P O S T S C R I P T.*

" If you pleaſe to ſend a ſafe-conduct, I de- " ſire it may be addreſſed to Sir Charles Coote, " or whom you ſhall think fit near to this place, " with a paſs for the number of five commiſ- " ſioners, and their retinue of about twenty " perſons; to the end that, having notice there-

" of,

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" of, I may send a list of the names of the said " commissioners."

To this I returned the following answer.

" *My LORD,*

" IN answer to your's of the 24th of March, " by which you propose a treaty for the set- " tlement of this country, and desire a safe-con- " duct for the commissioners you shall judge fit " to employ in the management of that affair; " I think fit, in pursuance of the advice of the " commissioners of the parliament of England, " and of many officers of the English army, to " advertise you, as hath been already answered " to those who have sent propositions of the like " nature, that the settlement of this nation doth " of right belong to the parliament of the com- " monwealth of England; to whom we are " obliged in duty to leave it; being assured, " that they will not capitulate with those who " ought to submit to them, and yet oppose " themselves to their authority, and, upon vain " and frivolous hopes, have refused such offers " of favour as they would gladly accept at pre- " sent: so that I fear they will be constrained to " proceed against them with the highest seve- " rity; which that you may prevent by your " timely submission, is the desire of,

" *My Lord,*

" *Your humble servant,*

" EDMUND LUDLOW."

That passage in my answer touching their readiness to accept such terms as they had formerly

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merly rejected, was grounded upon notice sent by Sir Charles Coote, that the town of Galway, since the time limited by the commissioners for their submission was expired, desired a treaty. Whereupon I had acquainted him, that seeing the besieged had refused the conditions formerly offered, they ought not now to expect the like, after such an addition of trouble and charge as they had lately put us upon. Yet, for all this caution, Sir Charles Coote concluded a treaty with them, immediately after the return of my answer to the Earl of Clanrickard, upon conditions much more advantageous to them than those formerly proposed, and very prejudicial to the public; undertaking to get them ratified by the commissioners of parliament within twenty days, and in the mean time promising that they should be inviolably observed. The commissioners of parliament having received the articles, and conceiving it to be unjust as well as imprudent to give the best terms to those who made the longest opposition, and of what dangerous consequence it might be, if that place were not fully secured to the English interest, spent the whole night in consultation with the officers of the army; and in the end resolved, That they could not consent that any should receive the benefit of those articles who had been any way concerned in the murdering of the English in the first year of the war; that they would not oblige themselves to permit any to live in Galway whom they should hereafter think fit to remove from thence for the security of the place; that they cannot consent, that the burgesses shall enjoy any more than two thirds of their estates lying near the town; that they will not suffer the habitations

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habitations of such as have been forced to quit the place upon the account of their affection for the parliament, to be detained from them. With these and some other alterations they declared their consent to the rest of the articles before mentioned: which if those of the town refused, they ordered that our men should not enter; and if entered, that they should restore the possession of it to the garrison. But, notwithstanding this expedition, the messenger that was dispatched with the resolutions of the commissioners, came too late; and all that could be obtained, was a promise from Sir Charles Coote, to endeavour to persuade those of Galway to accept of the articles, with the amendments made by the commissioners.

The parliament having resolved upon the incorporation of Scotland with the nation of England into one free state or commonwealth, and to reimburse themselves some part of that treasure they had expended in their own defence against the invasions of the Scots, declared the goods and lands formerly belonging to the crown of Scotland to be confiscated; and also those that were possessed by such persons as had assisted in the invasion of England by Duke Hamilton in the year 1648, or had appeared in arms since, under the Scots King, in order to subvert the present government; excepting those who since the battle of Dunbar had abandoned the said King of Scots, and by their merits and services had rendered themselves worthy of favour: that all such who are not comprehended under the said qualifications, and shall concur with them in their just enterprize, shall receive the benefit of their protection, and enjoy their liberties and goods

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goods equally with the free people of England. In pursuance of this declaration of the parliament, their commissioners in Scotland published another, wherein they discharge from confiscation all merchants and tradesmen who possess not in lands or goods above the value of 500 l. and are not prisoners of war, soldiers of fortune, moss-troopers, or such as have killed or committed outrages against the English soldiers, contrary to the laws and customs of war. They also emitted a proclamation, abolishing, in the name of the parliament, all manner of authority and jurisdiction derived from any other power but that of the commonwealth of England, as well in Scotland as in all the isles belonging to it. After this they summoned the counties, cities, and boroughs, to agree to the incorporation before mentioned: of which, eighteen of thirty one counties, and twenty four of fifty six cities and boroughs, consented to send their deputies to the parliament of England; most of the rest excusing themselves for want of money to defray the expences of their representatives.

This business being accomplished, and an act passed for the incorporation of England and Scotland into one commonwealth, the parliament were prevailed with by the importunities of some of their own members, and in particular of Gen. Cromwel, that so he might fortify himself, by the addition of new friends, for the carrying on his designs, to pass an act of general pardon and amnesty: whereby, though it had thirty eight several exceptions, many persons who deserved to pay towards the reimbursement of the public, no less than those who had been already fined, escaped the punishment due to their misdemeanours,

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ours, and the commonwealth was defrauded of great ſums of money; by which means they were rendered unable to diſcharge many juſt debts owing to ſuch as had ſerved them with diligence and fidelity.

In Ireland the rebels were ſo preſſed by our forces in all parts, that they began to think it neceſſary to treat about conditions of ſubmiſſion; and many of them obtained liberty to be tranſported into foreign ſervice; wherein the commiſſioners of parliament aſſiſted them with ſhips. So that the Iriſh officers were in many places deſerted by their own ſoldiers. Col. Fitzpatrick was the firſt who ſubmitted, on condition to be tranſported with his regiment into the ſervice of the King of Spain: which was a great blow to the Iriſh confederacy, who were very deſirous to treat in conjunction, hoping to obtain more favourable terms, in conſideration of their numbers; inſomuch that they publiſhed declarations againſt him, and the Iriſh clergy excommunicated him, and all thoſe who joined with him. Notwithſtanding which, Col. Odowyer, commander in chief of the Iriſh in the counties of Waterford and Tipperary, followed his example, and propoſed a treaty to Col. Zanchey; who, having received inſtructions from the commiſſioners, concluded an agreement with him; the principal articles whereof were to this effect: That the arms and horſes belonging to the brigade of Col. Edmund Odowyer ſhall be delivered up at a certain price; that he and his party ſhall enjoy their perſonal eſtates, and ſuch a proportion of their real eſtates as others under their qualification ſhall be permitted to do; that the benefit of the articles ſhall not extend to ſuch as had murdered

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dered any of the Engliſh, or had been engaged in the rebellion during the firſt year; or to any Romiſh prieſts, or to thoſe who had been of the firſt general aſſembly: thoſe alſo who had taken away the life of any of ours after quarter given; and thoſe who had deſerted us, and joined themſelves to the enemy, were excepted out of the treaty: all others to have liberty to live in our quarters, or to tranſport themſelves into the ſervice of any foreign ſtate in friendſhip with the commonwealth of England.

Whilſt the ambaſſadors from Holland were in treaty with the commiſſioners appointed by the parliament to that end, the Dutch fleet, conſiſting of forty three ſhips of war, commanded by the Heer Van Tromp, came into the Downs. Maj. Bourn having with him a ſquadron of eight men of war, perceiving two of the Dutch ſhips making ſail towards him, ſent to them to demand the reaſon of their approach; and an anſwer being returned, That they had a meſſage to deliver from Adm. Van Tromp to the Engliſh commander of that ſquadron, they were permitted to come up to that purpoſe. The Captains of the two Dutch ſhips, after they had ſaluted Maj. Bourn by ſtriking the flag, went on board him; and acquainted him, that they were ſent by their Admiral to let him know, that, riding with his fleet near Dunkirk, he had loſt many cables and anchors by bad weather, and was now brought by a north wind more ſouthward than he deſigned; of which he thought himſelf obliged to give him notice, to prevent any miſunderſtanding. Maj. Bourn told them, he was willing to believe what was ſaid, and that the truth of it would beſt appear by their ſpeedy retreat.

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retreat. With this answer the two Captains returned to their fleet; which coming within cannon-shot of Dover castle with their sails up, and flag at the top-mast, not saluting the fort according to custom, the garrison was constrained to fire three guns at the Hollanders, to put them in mind of their duty. But their Admiral made no answer; and, still keeping up his flag, lay in the road till the next day about noon; at which time he weighed anchor, and set sail towards Calais. The rest of the English fleet, consisting only of thirteen men of war, commanded by Gen. Blake, who had been upon the coast of Sussex, returning into the Downs soon after the departure of the Dutch, was joined by Maj. Bourn, and those eight ships he had with him. But Adm. Van Tromp, being obliged to take care of some rich merchant-ships bound home to Holland from the Streights, returned towards the Downs; and being come within cannon-shot of our fleet without striking their flag, Gen. Blake commanded three several guns one after the other to be fired at him. Whereupon he answered with one gun, which shot through the English flag, and followed it with a whole broad-side; setting up a red standard on his topmast, as a signal to the whole fleet to prepare to fight. The engagement began about four in the afternoon, and lasted till nine at night, with great loss to the enemy, and little damage on our side, though their fleet was double our number. We took two of their men of war in the fight; one of which was brought away; and the other, being very much shattered, sunk down as our men were carrying her off. The council of state having received an account of this action, made

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their report of it to the parliament; who passed a vote for the justification of Gen. Blake; and resolving to have satisfaction for this assault, placed a guard upon the Dutch ambassadors at their lodgings in Chelsea; and sent Gen. Cromwel, and Mr. Denis Bond, a member of parliament, down to the fleet, with assurances that nothing should be wanting for their encouragement.

The event of this undertaking not answering the expectations of the Hollanders, serving only to provoke the English nation, and to publish their own dishonour; they endeavoured to make the world, as well as the parliament, believe, that the quarrel was begun by Gen. Blake, or at least that what had been done, was not by their orders; and therefore desired, that the treaty might go on, and that the prisoners taken in the late fight might be restored. To this end, they sent over the Heer Paw of Heemsted, to carry on the treaty in conjunction with the ambassadors they had sent before into England. This minister was received with all the usual demonstrations of honour; and being admitted to audience, pressed for an accommodation of all differences, and a cessation of all acts of hostility between the two nations; assuring the parliament, that his masters had given orders to their ships to strike to the English flag, in the same manner as had been practised in former times. But being demanded to shew his powers, he produced nothing save letters of credence and passports, referring himself to the other ambassadors in that point; with whom he made some general propositions to the parliament, and desired them to declare their demands. By these proceedings of the Dutch, the parliament perceiving

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ceiving that this difference was not likely to be decided by a treaty, contented themſelves to require ſatisfaction for the injuries received, and aſſurance that nothing of that nature ſhould be attempted for the future; which if the ambaſſadors would conſent to, they declared themſelves ready to proceed in the treaty, and to grant a ceſſation of arms. But ſo little were they diſpoſed to give the ſatisfaction demanded, that they made no farther mention of the ceſſation which they had ſo earneſtly preſſed; and having taken their audience of leave, they broke off the treaty abruptly, and returned home.

In Ireland, though the number of thoſe that ſubmitted on condition to be tranſported into foreign ſervice, was ſo great, that they became a great burden to us before we could procure ſhipping for their tranſportation; and though the enemy had received ſeveral defeats by our forces during the winter, wherein many of them had been killed and taken: yet they continued to make incurſions into our quarters, carrying away cattle and other booty: and having lately ſeized upon the horſes belonging to two troops of dragoons, they were ſo encouraged, that Sir Walter Dungan, Commiſſary-General of the enemy's horſe, and Capt. Scurlock, a forward officer, and one who had done us much miſchief, with 500 foot and 250 horſe marched into Wexford, with a deſign to plunder that county. Lt-Col. Throgmorton, who commanded in thoſe parts, having informed us of their march, we ſent two troops of horſe to his aſſiſtance; who, with them, and about 400 foot, charged the enemy upon their return; and after ſome diſpute routed them, killing 200 of them upon

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the place, and many more, with divers officers, in the purſuit, beſides ſeveral of the Iriſh taken priſoners; with the loſs of about 20 killed, and 100 wounded on our ſide. The booty which the enemy had gotten, conſiſting chiefly in 500 cows, was all recovered.

The ſeaſon of action advancing, the commiſſioners of parliament went to Kilkenny, as well to confer with the officers from all parts of Ireland, as to make the neceſſary preparations for the enſuing ſervice. Of which the Earl of Weſtmeath, who commanded the enemy's forces in Leinſter, having notice, ſent to deſire a ſafe-conduct for commiſſioners to be named by them to treat with us at Kilkenny on their behalf; which being granted, they appointed Commiſſary-General Dungan, Lewis Viſcount of Glanmaliere, Sir Robert Talbot, Sir Richard Barnwell, Col. Walter Bagnal, Col. Lewis Moore, and Col. Thomas Tyrrel, to be their commiſſioners. And on our part, Commiſſary-General Reynolds, Col. Hewetſon, Col. Lawrence, Col. Axtel, Adjutant-General Allen, Maj. Henry Owen, and Mr. James Standiſh, Deputy-Treaſurer of the army, were commiſſionated to treat and conclude with them, in conformity to ſuch inſtructions as they received from a general council. And, after ſeveral days conference, the commiſſioners on each part came to an agreement upon terms that were the ſame in ſubſtance with thoſe formerly granted to Col. Edmund O-dowyer and his party, with liberty left for the Lord Muſkerry, Maj.-Gen. Taaf, and other commanders of the Iriſh in the provinces of Munſter, Connaught, and Ulſter, yet in arms, to come in and accept of the ſame conditions within a limited time. The articles were approved

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ved by the Earl of Westmeath on the behalf of the Irish, and on the part of the commonwealth of England by me, as commander in chief of their forces in Ireland.

In the mean time, the committee appointed by the parliament for the reformation of the law in England, made a considerable progress in that matter. Judges were also sent into Scotland for the administration of justice there; which they performed to the great satisfaction of that people. The parliament also appointed a committee to consider of means to set at work all the poor throughout the nation, and to make provision for such as were not able to work, that there might be no beggar in England.

In Scotland, our forces having reduced the castle of Dunnottar, which was the last garrison of that nation that held out against the parliament of England, it was resolved to make four considerable forts; one at Inverness, another at Leith, a third at Ayr, and a fourth at St. Johnston. And because the enemy, being entirely beaten out of the field, was retired to the mountainous parts, which to that time had been accounted inaccessible by the English; it was agreed to endeavour to clear those places of them also; being persuaded, that where any went before, others might follow after. To this end, our men were divided into three parties; the first consisted of Col. Overton's regiment of foot, and a regiment of horse, commanded by Maj. Blackmore; the second of Col. Hacker's regiment of horse, and one of foot, commanded by Col. Lilburn; and the third was composed of the regiment of horse of Maj.-Gen. Dean, and of a regiment of foot belonging to Lt-Gen.

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Monk. Each of these having a party of dragoons to attend them, rendezvoused at Lochaber; and from thence fell separately into the enemy's quarters, where they killed many of them, and burnt their provisions; pursuing them so close, that as they fled from one party, they fell into the hands of another; by which means they were in a short time entirely dispersed.

The Irish that submitted according to the articles, and delivered up their arms and horses to the commissioners appointed by me to receive them, were in all about 3000. But many of them finding themselves within that exception concerning the murders of the English, or hoping to obtain better conditions, or, it may be, taking pleasure in their predatory life, continued still in arms. Of this number was the Lord Muskerry, who commanded the Irish in Munster; and, at the time of our treaty with those of Leinster, had sent one Col. Poor to Kilkenny, to acquaint us, that he designed to come in upon the same conditions. But we suspecting his sincerity, by the means of some letters which we intercepted, were not wanting to prepare what was necessary in order to reduce him and his party by force. And having finished our affairs at Kilkenny, I removed with the commissioners to Clonmel, and from thence to Youghall, and so to Cork.

The rebels in Connaught and Ulster, instead of submitting, as was expected, got together a body of about 5000 men, under the conduct of the Earl of Clanrickard, and Sir Phelim O Neal, with which they besieged and took the fort of Ballyshannon. Whereupon Sir Charles Coote and

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and Col. Venables drew out what forces they could, and advanced towards them with such expedition, that they were near the place before the enemy had notice of their march; who finding themselves surprised, retreated to the bogs, leaving a small garrison in Ballyshannon: but being pursued by our men, who killed and wounded about 300 of them, in which number were thirty officers, and took from them 7 or 8000 cows, upon whose milk they chiefly subsisted, 1200 of them came in and laid down their arms: upon which the garrison they had placed in Ballyshannon, surrendered upon articles.

Maj.-Gen. Lambert making great preparations to come over to us in the quality of Deputy to Gen. Cromwel, the commission of the said General to be Lieutenant of Ireland expired. Whereupon the parliament took that affair into their consideration: and though there were not wanting many amongst them, who affirmed the title and office of Lieutenant to be more suitable to a monarchy than a free commonwealth; yet it was likely to have been carried for the renewing his commission under the same title. But he, having at that time another part to act, stood up, and declared his satisfaction with what had been said against constituting a Lieutenant in Ireland, desiring that they would not continue him with that character. Upon which the question being put, the parliament, willing to believe him in earnest, ordered it according to his motion. He farther moved, That though they had not thought fit to continue a Lieutenant of Ireland, they would be pleased, in consideration of the worthy person whom they had formerly approved to go over with the title of Deputy, to continue

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tinue that character to him. But the parliament, having ſuppreſſed the title and office of a Lieutenant in Ireland, thought it altogether improper to conſtitute a Deputy, who was no more than the ſubſtitute of a Lieutenant; and therefore refuſed to conſent to that propoſal, ordering that he ſhould be inſerted one of the commiſſioners for civil affairs, and conſtituted commander in chief of their forces in Ireland. In the management of this affair, Mr. Weaver, who was one of the commiſſioners of Ireland, but then at London, and ſitting in parliament, was very active; to the great diſcontent of Gen. Cromwel, who endeavouring to perſuade the parliament that the army in Ireland would not be ſatisfied, unleſs their commander in chief came over qualified as Deputy, Mr. Weaver aſſured them, that, upon his knowledge, all the ſober people of Ireland, and the whole army there, except a few factious perſons, were not only well ſatisfied with the preſent government, both civil and military, of that nation, but alſo with the governors who managed the ſame; and therefore moved, that they would make no alteration in either, and renew their commiſſions for a longer time. This diſcourſe of Mr. Weaver, tending to perſuade the parliament to continue me in the military command, increaſed the jealouſy which Gen. Cromwel had conceived of me, that I might prove an obſtruction to the deſign he was carrying on to advance himſelf by the ruin of the commonwealth: and therefore, ſince Maj.-Gen. Lambert refuſed to go over with any character leſs than that of Deputy, he reſolved by any means to place Lt-Gen. Fleetwood at the head of affairs in Ireland. By which

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which conduct he procured two great advantages to himself, thereby putting the army in Ireland into the hands of a person secured to his interest by the marriage of his daughter; and drawing Maj.-Gen. Lambert into an enmity towards the parliament, prepared him to join with him in opposition to them, when he should find it convenient to put his design in execution.

In the mean time, I was not wanting in my endeavours to reduce the enemy in Ireland; and, to that end, marched with about 4000 foot and 2000 horse, towards Ross in Kerry; where the Lord Muskerry made his principal rendezvous, and which was the only place of strength the Irish had left, except the woods, bogs, and mountains; being a kind of an island, encompassed on every part by water, except on one side, upon which there was a bog not passable but by a causey which the enemy had fortified. In this expedition I was accompanied by the Lord Broghill, and Sir Hardress Waller, Major-General of the Foot. Being arrived at this place, I was informed, that the enemy received continual supplies from those parts that lay on the other side, and were covered with woods and mountains: whereupon I sent a party of 2000 foot to clear those woods, and to find out some convenient place for the erecting a fort, if there should be occasion. These forces met with some opposition; but at last they routed the enemy, killing some, and taking others prisoners. The rest saved themselves by their good footmanship. Whilst this was doing, I employed that part of the army which was with me in fortifying a neck of land; where I designed to leave a party to keep in the Irish on this side, that I might be at liberty,

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liberty, with the greateſt part of the horſe and foot, to look after the enemy abroad, and to receive and convoy ſuch boats, and other things neceſſary, as the commiſſioners ſent to us by ſea. When we had received our boats, each of which was capable of containing 120 men, I ordered one of them to be rowed about the water, in order to find out the moſt convenient place for landing upon the enemy; which they perceiving, thought fit, by a timely ſubmiſſion, to prevent the danger that threatened them; and having expreſſed their deſires to that purpoſe, commiſſioners were appointed on both parts to treat. The articles were the ſame in effect with thoſe granted to the Iriſh in Leinſter and other places. But much time was ſpent in the diſcuſſion of ſome particulars, eſpecially that concerning the murder of the Engliſh, which was an exception we never failed to make: ſo that the Iriſh commiſſioners ſeeming doubtful, whether, by the wording that article, they were not all included, deſired that it might be explained; to which we conſented; and it was accordingly done. They alſo made it their requeſt, that, inſtead of that article relating to their real eſtates, whereby they were to enjoy ſuch a part as ſhould be allotted to them by the qualifications to be agreed upon, it might be expreſſed, that they wholly ſubmitted to the mercy of the parliament therein. The exerciſe alſo of their religion was earneſtly inſiſted upon by them: but we refuſed to oblige ourſelves to any thing in that particular; declaring only, that it was neither the principle or practice of the authority which we ſerved, to impoſe their way of worſhip upon any by violent means. With theſe explanations, the

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the commissioners, after a fortnight's debate, concluded the agreement, the Lord Muskerry and myself confirming it. His son, with Sir Daniel O Bryan, were delivered to me as hostages for the performance of the articles. In consequence of which about 5000 horse and foot laid down their arms, and surrendered their horses.

Whilst this was doing in Munster, Col. Grace, with some forces that had not submitted, passed the Shannon; and, being joined by many of the Irish of Connaught and Galway, began to grow considerable, being about 3000, most of them foot. Col. Ingoldsby having notice of them, drew together a party about Limerick; and, marching with them to find out the enemy, attacked them at a pass, which they disputed for some time; but our horse breaking in upon some of their foot, and encouraging the rest to fall on, the Irish quitted their post, and shifted for themselves. In this action many of them were killed and taken prisoners, the rest escaping to the bogs and woods. After this defeat, Col. Grace and his party was forced to submit, and to that end treated with Col. Zanchey; but found that his obstinate resistance so long had done him no service; for Col. Zanchey, upon the surrender of Inch to him, and the submission of Col. Grace's forces, caused a Captain, a Lieutenant, and a Serjeant, with other officers, to be shot to death, for revolting at Carrick to the enemy, according to the liberty he had reserved to himself in that case by the capitulation. In the north of Ireland, Col. Theophilus Jones being sent out with seven troops of horse, one of dragoons, and 300 foot, to get provisions for the relief of those parts, met

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met with a party of the enemy, consisting of 1600 foot and 300 horse; whom he charged, and, after a sharp dispute, routed, and put to flight, killing many of their officers, and 300 soldiers, upon the place. All the arms of their foot were taken, and 150 horse; with the loss only of six of our men killed, and about twenty wounded. The Earl of Clanrickard finding the Irish affairs in a desperate condition, with what forces he had left, retired into the isle of Carrick; where being encompassed by our men on all sides, he submitted, and obtained liberty to transport himself, with 3000 men, to any foreign country in friendship with the commonwealth, within the space of three months.

The parliament having already sent over to us five companies of foot, under the command of Lt-Col. Finch, who had done very good service at the battle of Worcester, resolved to send 800 more out of the regiment of Maj.-Gen. Lambert, and an entire regiment commanded by Col. Clarke; which forces were procured rather to promote the designs of Gen. Cromwel, than from any need we had of them; our military service in Ireland, by the blessing of God, drawing towards a conclusion, most of the Irish forces having submitted and laid down their arms, no garrison of any strength holding out against us, and many thousands of the enemy sent into foreign service. The soldiers of Lambert's regiment were countermanded, upon his refusal to go to Ireland without the character of Deputy: but the regiment of Col. Clarke being thoroughly principled for Cromwel's design, continued their march by order of the parliament, who were persuaded to constitute Lt-Gen. Fleetwood

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wood commander in chief of their forces in Ireland, and one of their commissioners for the civil affairs in that nation.

The States-General, upon the return of their ambassadors from England, dispatched orders to their Admiral, to take all advantages against the English; and solicited the King of Denmark to break with us also, encouraging him to detain twenty two English merchant-ships which he had formerly seized coming through the Sound. The parliament, to prevent the dangers that might ensue by farther delay, gave orders to Gen. Blake to fall upon the subjects of Holland whersoever he should meet them; and particularly to interrupt their fishery upon the northern coast, sending the regiments of Col. Ingoldsby and Col. Goff on board the fleet. General Blake having received these instructions, set sail for the north; where meeting with about 600 herring-busses, under a convoy of twelve men of war, he took and sunk the whole convoy; and having seized the fish that the busses had taken, he released all the vessels, with the seamen belonging to them. Which action was blamed by some, who thought, that, by the help of those ships, we might have been enabled to erect a fishery, and thereby have made some reparation to the English nation for the damages which they had sustained from the Dutch; and that, by detaining their mariners, we might have weakened and distressed them considerably, they wanting men for the management of their shipping. In the mean time, Sir George Ayscue, who was lately returned from the reduction of Barbadoes, and had convoyed into the river five merchant-ships richly laden from the East-In-

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dies, fell upon a fleet of Hollanders, consisting of forty merchant-men, under the convoy of four men of war. Of this fleet he took seven, forced divers on shore, and the rest narrowly escaped. About the same time a ship from Guinea, valued at 40,000 l. was by some of ours taken from the Dutch, with many other rich ships, to the great prejudice and interruption of their trade. To apply some remedy to this, the Dutch Admiral with his fleet came into the Downs, and anchored by Sir George Ayscue, who was retired unto Dover castle, being much inferior in number to the enemy; but the Hollanders, after a short stay, left our fleet, and set sail, without attempting any thing against us. At Leghorn, some of their men of war preparing to seize such English merchant-ships as lay in that port, the Grand Duke sent a message to the Dutch, to let them know, that, if they committed any acts of hostility against the English nation in that harbour, their goods in the town should be responsible for it. Admiral Blake returned to the Downs; and being informed, that a French fleet was going to relieve Dunkirk, then besieged by the Spaniards, called a council of war, and, by their advice, sent a squadron after them; which coming up with the French, took divers of their ships, and dispersed the rest; by which means chiefly the town was soon after surrendered.

The Irish being reduced to extremity, and most of the country in the hands of the English, the parliament resolved to give the adventurers possession of lands proportionable to the several sums they had advanced, and also to satisfy the arrears of the army out of the same, as they had formerly

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merly promised; which that they might be enabled to perform, they passed an act, confiscating so much of the estates of those who had acted against the English, as they judged the quality of their crimes to require, and extending their clemency to those who had carried themselves peaceably. In the mean time, that I might bring such as remained yet in arms against us to a necessity of submitting, I marched with a party of about 4000 horse and foot; and having scoured the counties of Wexford and Wicklo, placing garrisons where I thought convenient, I went to Tredah, where I met the rest of the parliament's commissioners; and having staid eight days in that place to settle affairs, I continued my march into the county of Meath; and coming to Carriek Macross, a house belonging to the Earl of Essex, where the rebels had barbarously murdered one Mr. Blany, a Justice of Peace in that county, I caused it to be fortified, and put a garrison in it, being advantageously situated to restrain the enemy's excursions. From hence I went to visit the garrison of Dundalk; and being upon my return, I found a party of the enemy retired within a hollow rock, which was discovered by one of ours, who saw five or six of them standing before a narrow passage at the mouth of the cave. The rock was so thick, that we thought it impossible to dig it down upon them, and therefore resolved to try to reduce them by smoke. After some of our men had spent most part of the day in endeavouring to smother those within by fire placed at the mouth of the cave, they withdrew the fire; and the next morning supposing the Irish to be made incapable of resistance by the smoke,

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some of them with a candle before them crawled into the rock. One of the enemy who lay in the middle of the entrance, fired his pistol, and shot the first of our men into the head; by whose loss we found that the smoke had not taken the designed effect. But seeing no other way to reduce them, I caused the trial to be repeated; and upon examination found, that though a great smoke went into the cavity of the rock, yet it came out again at other crevices; upon which I ordered those places to be closely stopped, and another smother made. About an hour and half after this, one of them was heard to grone very strongly, and afterwards more weakly, whereby we presumed that the work was done; yet the fire was continued till about midnight, and then taken away, that the place might be cool enough for ours to enter the next morning. At which time some went in armed with back, breast, and head piece, to prevent such another accident as fell out at their first attempt; but they had not gone above six yards before they found the man that had been heard to grone, who was the same that had killed one of our men with his pistol; and who resolving not to quit his post, had been, upon stopping the holes of the rock, choaked by the smoke. Our soldiers put a rope about his neck, and drew him out. The passage being cleared, they entered; and having put about fifteen to the sword, brought four or five out alive, with the priest's robes, a crucifix, chalice, and other furniture of that kind. Those within preserved themselves by laying their heads close to a water that ran through the rock. We found two rooms in the

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place, one of which was large enough to turn a pike; and having filled the mouth of it with large ſtones, we quitted it, and marched to Caſtle Blany; where I left a party of foot, and ſome horſe, as I had done before at Carrick and Newry, whereby that part of the county of Monaghan was pretty well ſecured. We continued our march to Monaghan, and ſo to Aghur, where we caſt up ſome works, and left a garriſon to defend it. Near this place lay the creaght of Lt-Gen. O Neal, ſon to that O Neal, who, after ſeveral years impriſonment in the Tower of London, died there. He came over from the ſervice of the King of Spain to be Lieutenant-General to the army of Owen Roe O Neal; but, upon ſome jealouſy or particular diſcontent, was laid aſide. This man, with his wife, who he ſaid was niece to the Dutcheſs of Artois, and ſome children, removed, as the Iriſh do generally in thoſe parts, with their tenants and cattle, from one place to another, where there is conveniency of graſs, water, and wood; and there having built a houſe, which they do compleatly in an hour or two, they ſtay till they want graſs, and then diſlodge to another ſtation. This way of living is accompanied with many inconveniencies to the public ſervice; for they not only give ſhelter to the enemy, but take all advantages themſelves both to plunder and kill, none knowing whence they come, or whither they go, and ſo can neither eaſily be prevented nor found out. From hence I marched to Inniſkillin, in the county of Fermanagh, that I might take a view of the place, and likewiſe provide materials to fortify Leſneſkey, otherwiſe Bally Balfoar, and to reduce an iſland kept by

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the Irish in Loughern, with another fort they possessed near Bulturbet. Being at Lesneskey, I was met by Commissary-General Reynolds, who with a party of horse and foot had dispersed the enemy in Letrim. Having fortified this place, and made some preparations for the reduction of the island before mentioned, I received advice from the commissioners of parliament at Dublin, that Lt-Gen. Fleetwood had landed at Waterford, and was gone to Kilkenny, where they designed to attend him. The news of his arrival was very welcome to me, having found my care and fatigues recompensed only with envy and hatred; and therefore having given orders where I was for the carrying on the public service, I hastened after the commissioners; and being come to Kilkenny, I saluted the commander in chief, and congratulated his safe arrival; after which I gave him an account of the affairs of the army, with assurances of my resolution to obey his orders. In this place Col. Walter Bagnal, who had been one of the hostages delivered to us for the performance of the treaty concluded with those of the province of Leinster, was by the Marshal detained prisoner upon an accusation brought against him for the murder of an Englishman: which crime being excepted out of those articles, and all others at any time granted to the Irish, the commissioners thought themselves obliged in duty to put him upon his trial; and to that end caused him to be brought before them; where, upon full proof, they condemned him to be shot to death; which sentence was executed accordingly. The Lieutenant-General remained some time at Kilkenny; but the commissioners having dispatched their

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their affairs in those parts, returned to Dublin; and I accompanied them thither.

The Holland fleet appearing off the Goodwin sands, Adm. Blake hastened the foot-soldiers aboard, and set sail after them; but they tacked about, and made away towards the French coast; where being joined by the ships commanded by Vice-Admiral De Ruyter, they returned towards our fleet, and came within six leagues of the north fore-land. Capt. Mildmay, in the Nonpareille, about four in the afternoon, exchanged some shot with them; and, soon after, the English Admiral, with a few more, came up also; the rest of the fleet, by reason of bad weather, being yet far behind. The Dutch kept themselves close together, firing several single shot at ours; which our Admiral thought not fit to answer, till the rest of his fleet was come up to him, and then he began to fire on the Admiral of Holland. The fight lasted from five till seven, when night parted them; the Rear-Admiral of the enemy having lost all his masts, and two more of their ships most part of their rigging. Capt. Mildmay followed them close; and, being come up with them, commanded his small shot to be fired into that ship that made most sail; immediately after which he boarded and took her. This done, he pursued another, and in half an hour overtook her, and forced her to yield also. In one of these ships was the Dutch Rear-Admiral, whom Capt. Mildmay took out, with the rest of the men, and then let her sink, she being so disabled, that he despaired of bringing her off. The next morning our fleet pursued the Dutch, who made away with all possible speed, and about four in the

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the afternoon bore up with them; but none of our great ships, except the Admiral, being able to reach them, the night separated them again. The next day the Dutch recovered Goree and others of their harbours, so that our fleet thought fit to desist any farther pursuit of them. On our side we had but three of our men and Capt. Jarvis killed, with about twenty wounded. The enemy's loss was considerable, many of their men being killed and wounded, besides several taken prisoners; and three of their ships sunk and taken. Fourteen more were also brought into their ports much damaged in the engagement, with great numbers of wounded men on board. Their fleet coming to Goree, the Captains were forbidden to come ashore till inquiry should be made touching those who had refused to fight in the first encounter with the English. Hereupon the enmity of the Dutch against the English nation grew to such a height, that, to render them odious, and to encourage their own subjects to come in to serve against them, they caused the execution of the late King to be represented on the stage in a most tragical manner; insomuch that those of the Prince of Orange's party were not without hopes, that the states of Holland would rather surrender their liberties to the Prince, than quietly suffer England to live under the government of a commonwealth. Some prejudice we received in two encounters with the Dutch in the Mediterranean sea; but those slight successes were wholly owing to their number, and not at all to their courage or conduct.

The parliament gave audience to ambassadors from Venice and Portugal, referring the consi-

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deration of their instructions to the council of state, who were required to report their opinions touching them to the parliament. They also ordered a letter to be drawn up and dispatched to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, to give him thanks for the good usage received from him by the English merchants at Leghorn. About the same time thirty frigats were appointed to be built, as well to increase the fleet, as to secure the trade of the nation by cruising. Eighteen men of war were likewise sent into the Sound under the conduct of Capt. Hall, who at his arrival before Elsenore, delivered a letter to the governor of that place for the King of Denmark, with assurances that he was come thither for no other end than to convoy home two and twenty English merchant-ships formery seized by the said King at Copenhagen. The King of Denmark seemed much offended that Capt. Hall had entered the Sound without his leave; and sent 4000 men to Cronenburg and Elsenore, to reinforce those places, giving orders to his fleet to join with the Hollanders, who were not far off, and to fight the English in case they attacked the Dutch. These great preparations obliged Capt. Hall to retire from thence, and to return to Newcastle. Hereupon the Danish ambassador at London had his audience of leave from the parliament; and his master began to prepare twenty ships of war for the assistance of the Dutch, alledging himself bound so to do by a treaty with them. In order to which he caused the goods belonging to the English to be taken out of the two and twenty ships before mentioned, and to be sold, declaring openly for the Hollanders.

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In the mean time the reformation of the law went on but ſlowly, it being the intereſt of the lawyers to preſerve the lives, liberties, and eſtates of the whole nation in their own hands. So that upon the debate of regiſtering deeds in each county, for want of which, within a certain time fixed after the ſale, ſuch ſales ſhould be void, and being ſo regiſtered, that land ſhould not be ſubject to any incumbrance; this word *incumbrance* was ſo managed by the lawyers, that it took up three months time before it could be aſcertained by the committee.

The End of the Firſt Volume.

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